

New England Judged,

Not by Man's, but the Spirit of the LORD :

And

The SUMME sealed up of NEW-ENGLAND'S
PERSECUTIONS.

Being

A Brief Relation of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers in those Parts of AMERICA, from the beginning of the Fifth Moneth 1656. (the time of their first Arrival at BOSTON from ENGLAND) to the later end of the Tenth Moneth, 1660.

Wherein

The Cruel Whippings and Scourgings, Bonds and Imprisonments, Beatings and Chainings, Starvings and Huntings, Fines and Confiscation of Estates, Burning in the Hand and Cutting of Ears, Orders of Sale for Bond-men, and Bond-women, Banishment upon pain of Death, and Putting to Death of those People, are Shortly touch'd; With a Relation of the Manner, and Some of the Other most Material Proceedings; and a Judgement thereupon.

In Answer

To a Certain Printed Paper, Intituled, A DECLARATION of the General Court of the Massachusetts holden at Boston, the 18. October, 1658. Apologizing for the same.

By GEORGE BISHOP.

Therefore, also, saith the Wisdom of God, I will send them Prophets, and Apostles, and some of them they shall slay and Persecute, That the Blood of all the Prophets that was shed from the Foundation of the World, may be required of this Generation, From the Blood of Abel, to the Blood of Zecharias, which perished between the Temple and the Altar. Verily, I say unto you, it shall be required of this Generation.

London, Printed for Robert Wilson, in Martins Le Grand, 1661.

New England Judged

IN A NEW AND COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE

PLANTATIONS

IN THE PROVINCES OF NEW ENGLAND

AND THE ADJACENT ISLANDS

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT

TO THE PRESENT STATE

OF THE PROVINCES

AND THE ADJACENT ISLANDS

IN THE YEAR 1700

BY JOHN HARRIS

OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW ENGLAND

IN THE YEAR 1700

AND THE ADJACENT ISLANDS

IN THE YEAR 1700

AND THE ADJACENT ISLANDS

IN THE YEAR 1700

NEVV ENGLAND

Judged, &c.

HAD the Government of the *Massachusetts* in *New England* stated in their Printed Apologie, any Particular matter of Fact whereby the Servants of the Lord, *William Robinson*, and *Marmaduke Stevenson*, (whom they caused to be put to Death) were Legally convicted; Or, any Power from *Old England* to enable to such Executions; and that according to the Merit of the *One*, and the Justice of the *Other* they had Legally proceeded, it had been something like Men of Reasonable Understandings, whom the Prince of the *Ayre* had not darkened into a blind accusing of Themselves by the things they offer in their Justification; But when their Apologie (which carries in the very name of it an Implication of Guilt, for, *Nihil Opus Justitia Ciceronis—Justice needeth no Apologie*) hath no such thing (and something as such, no doubt, it would have had as it's chiefest concern, could they have produced it) but only *Generals* (which signifie little but a Design to slander, For, —*Generalia nihil probant—Generals prove nothing*, as is the *Maxime* in Law, which is grounded upon Equity, &c —*Dolus versatur in Universalibus—Deceit lurks, or is conversant in Generals* — as is the received Axiome of the *Antients*) It is Evident, That in this Affair of so high a Nature as of Blood, and that for Conscience, they are wanting (by their Own Prescription) both as to Matter of Fact deserving, and Power enabling to such Executions; And so their Own Vindication (for They have not so much as saved to themselves * Liberty hereafter to Exhibit what they may have

such Libertie, but requires a Man to choose the Particular unto which he will stand, but the Civil, and Proceedings of State allows and uses it upon a particular Salvo in the first Exhibition, and not afterwards.

*The Common Law gives no

further to offer in *their Own* Justification, a *Salvo* for which, if it could, or is intended at all, ought, at first, to be inserted) condemnes *Themselves*, and makes *Them* appear not onely *Legis Culpe*—*Transgressors of the Law*—but—*Rei Sanguinis*—*Guilty of Blood*.—For, when the *life of any Man*, (and here is of *Two*, and a *Woman*) is taken away, be the Pretence what it will, without a *Legal* Conviction by *Plain*, and *Particular* matter of *Fact*, and *Due* Process of *Law*, and *Power* of *Determining* (I speak of *inferior* Ministers of *Justice* (and no *such* Matter of *Fact*, and *Due* Process of *Law*, or *Power* to *Determine* have they shewn in *this* their Declaration, which concludes *them* as aforesaid) there the *Life* of *such a Man* (or of *such Men* and *Women*) is Violently taken away; and *those* who thus Violently take it (or the *lives* of *them*) away are *Guilty of Blood*, or, of *that Man* (or *Men* and *Women*) are the *Trucidators*, or *Murderers*: And *this* being done by *Men* who sometimes Suffered because of *Conscience*, and who for *Conscience* sake pretended to fly *their Native Country*, to *Men* and *Women* (even of *their Country*) barely for *their* Conscience to *God*, and the Exercise thereof in *Obedience to the Lord* (as is the *Case*) aggravates the *Offence* beyond *Comparison*; and renders *them* the most *Unreasonable* of *Men*, as it leaves *them* without *Excuse*.

Having given *this* short View, and State of the *Case*, which (I suppose) is clear to *all Men* of *sober* Understandings, I shall descend more *Particularly* to the *Declaration* it self, and therein to the *Order* of the *Proceedings* of *these Men* of *Blood*, and the *Gradation* of *their* *Laws* from *Imprisonment* unto *Death*, as *themselves* have set it, and *Convince* through all what I have Asserted in the *Title*, and the *first Pages* of *my Book*.

Declaration.

—We thought it requisite to Declare (for, for Your Preamble or Beginning, I shall Answer it in the End) That about Three Years since, divers Persons professing themselves Quakers (of whose Pernicious Opinions and Practices

Practices, we had received Intelligence from good hands from Barbados to England (I suppose Ye mean from England and Barbados) arrived at Boston) whose Persons were only secured to be sent away the first Opportunity, without Censure or Punishment, although their professed Tenets, Turbulent and Contemptuous Behaviour to Authority, would have justified a Severer Animadversion; yet the Prudence of this Court was Exercised only in making Provision to Secure the Peace and Order here Established against their Attempts, whose Design (we were well assured by Our own Experience, as well as by the Example of their Predecessors in Munster) was to Undermine and Ruine the same.

Answer.

That about Three Years before the Date of this Your Declaration, that is to say in the beginning of the fifth Month called *Mary Fisher.*
July, 1656. Divers Persons in icorn by You and the World called Ann Austin.
Quakers; Viz. Mary Fisher, and Anne Austin, arrived at Boston the Fifth Mo-
and after them in the Month following, viz. the 7. day of the nth, 1656.
6. Month, 1656. Mary Prince, Sarah Gibbens, Mary Weathers, Mary Prince.
head; Dorothy Waugh, Christopher Holder; Thomas Thirstone, Sarah Gibbens.
William Brend and John Copeland; And upon their Arrival, Ye Mary Weather-
did secure and send them away after so tedious a Passage by Sea, head.
as some Thousands of Miles in, Love to Visit You, and the place Dorothy Waugh
my Inconveniences which attend on such a Voyage) is Truly, Christopher
and what is True I freely Own, and readily acknowledge. a But Holder,
that They professed themselves Quakers, (the Term which in Thomas Thir-
reproach ye cast upon Them) Or, That ye [only] secured them Stone.
to send them away, the first Opportunity; Or, That ye sent them Wil iam Brend.
away the first Opportunity, and that without Censure or Punish- John Copeland.
ment; Or, That they are a People of such Opinions and Prac- The Seventh
tises as ye call Pernicious; Or, of turbulent and contemptuous day of the
behaviour, especially to Authority; Or, that their Professed Ten- Sixth Month,
ets, or behaviour to Authority, which Ye call turbulent and 1656.
con-

contemptuous, did deserve any *such* Animadversion; much less a Severer than *they* received at *your* hands; Or, That *Ye* were or could be [well] assured, either by *Your* own Experience (who had none) or the Example of *those* *Ye* mind in *Munster*, that *their* Design was to Undermine and Ruine the Peace and Order establishd among *You*, in the way of *Munster*; Or, That *they* at *Munster* are *their* Predecessors, Is a heap of Lies and Calumnies forged out of *Your* own, and the Brains of *Your* Priests, on purpose to asperse the Innocent, (whose Blood *Ye* have spilt) and to cover *Your* Guilt.

For *First*, *They* may have Owned, and do Own *themselves* to be such whom the *World* and *Ye*, in scorn, call *Quakers*, and so *they* do, and did Profess *themselves* to be such, Esteeming the Reproaches of *Christ* greater Riches than the Treasures of *Egypt*, for that *they* have respect unto the Recompence of Reward; But that *they* professed *themselves* *Quakers*, so Owning the Brand, which *Ye* put upon *them*; that's *Your* Own, and I must return it to *You* again to be laid up in the *Treasurie* of *Wrath* against the Day of *Wrath*, and Revelation of the Righteous judgement of God, which shall destroy the Adversary.

Secondly, That *Ye* did [only] secure *them* to send *them* away (as *Ye* say) the first Opportunity, and that *Ye* sent *them* away the first Opportunity without Censure or Punishment is of the same nature with the former, and with the former must be turned upon *You*.

For, *First*, before *Ye* had seen *them* (viz. *Mary Fisher* and *Ann Austin*, the first that came) or heard *them*, or knew *them*, or any of the People called *Quakers* (for *those* were the first that came among *You*) or what *they* had to say, or, had sent to know what was *their* Errand; and wherefore *they* came into *Your* Parts; Before that *they* had sent to *You*, or, that *Ye* (by *them*) had a Certain Information of *their* Business, or Principles, before *they* were come on *tho*ir, or had signified to *You* for certain, that *they* would *there* land; Yea, before *Ye* had a *Law*, or any *Court* sitting that could make a *Law* against *those* People, Did not *Richard Bellingham* *Your* Deputy Governour, much unlike a Man, much more a Christian, a Christian Magistrate (as *You* would have *him* and *Your* selves to be accounted) cause *them* to be rifled for Books and Papers on board the Ship, after that *he* had

had Commanded *Them* Prisoners *their* until he had sent for *them*? And took not *your* Officer furiously away about *One Hundred Books* from *them*? (*their* *Proper Goods*) And did he not detain such *their* Goods, and refuse to re-deliver *them*, though *they* sent to *him* for that purpose? Or, hath *he*, or *You* given *Them* any Satisfaction to *this* Day for such *their* Goods? (which are as *Properly* *Theirs*, and as *Protectible* by the *Law*, as the *Cloaths* *they* had upon *Them*.) Nay, Did not a *Council* of *You*, (afterwards assembled at *Boston*) instead of doing *them* Right against the *Repe* of the *Deputy-Governour*, do *them* Wrong, and cause the said Books (*their* Goods) to be burnt in the *Market-place* of *Boston* by the *Common-Hangman*? And did *Ye* not the same to *Them* who came afterwards? that is to say, Did *Ye* not cause *their* Boxes, Chests, Trunks, &c. to be searched and rifled before *they* came on *Shoar* and after? And were not such *their* Books as were found taken away and burnt in the *Spanish Inquisition*? Yea, did not *your* *Jaylor* rob *them* of *their* Bible, and so debarr'd *them* the use of the *Scriptures*? And were not *these* things done by *Order*, by *Order* of *some* of *You*, bearing Date the 11th of *July*, 1656, and the 27th of *September* following? the first being an *Order* in the *General*, the second in *Particular* to the *Jaylor* to do it, as oft as *he* should see meet.

Again, After *Your* said *Deputy-Governour* had Commanded *Them* on *Shoar*, and to be brought in *Custody* before *him*, and had Committed *Them* to *Prison* by a *Mistake*, as *Quakers*, against *whom* *Ye* had *No* *Law*, and upon *this* Proof only, that *they* were such, viz. — The saying of *One* of *them* to *him*, [*Thee*] (which is the *Natural* Distinction (in *Word*) of *One* Man from *Many*, and as *Proper* as is the *Name* of *One* Man to Distinguish *him* from *Another*, and as *Generally* used [*Thou* and *Thee*] to a *Single Person* in all *Languages*, and the *Scriptures* of *Truth*, and to the *Lord* the *Maker* of all, in the most Solemn *Addresses*; For *Languages* are but the *Demonstrations* of *Natural* Distinctions, which *whoever* Oppoleth, doth (what in *him* lies) Overthrow the *Order* of *Nature*; and *he* that Overthrows the *Order* of *Nature* brings in *Confusion*; and *Natural* Distinction is the *Ground* or *Measure* of *Demonstration* or *Speech*; Not *Demonstration* or *Speech* of *Natural* Distinction) Whereupon

upon *he* said, — *He* needed no more, now *he* saw they were Quakers — (an Ignorant Speech, and a shameless of a Magistrate, who should uphold the Order of Nature, and not make it a Ground of Punishment in such as Do) I say, after *he* had commanded them on Shoar, and Committed them, and upon the Ground as afore-said, Did *Ye* not haste together in Council? (such of *You* as were near) and being met together before the time of the Court General, Did *Ye* not Order them (and their other Friends afore-said) to be kept close Prisoners, and none to come at them, Or to have Communication with them (in Express Words) without Leave from some of *You*? until such time as they should be delivered by Authority on board some Vessel to be transported Out of the Country (as are the Words of Your Order to the Keeper, July 18. 1656.) Yea, are not the Words of Your Order to the Keeper, August 18. 1656. to keep their said Friends close Prisoners, and not to suffer them to speak, or confer with any Person, Nor to permit them to have Paper and Ink? And in Your Order Septemb. 17. 1656. Do *Ye* not impower him to search their Boxes, Chests, &c. for Pen, Ink and Paper, Papers and Books, and take Them away? And did not Your Jaylor Execute Your said Warrants precisely? And further, Did *he* not take away their Candles, and not suffer them to have Light in the Night-season, lest (as himself said) they should see to Write? And, did *Ye* not lay a Fine of Five pound on any one that should otherwise come at, or speak with Them, though but at the Window, than by your Leave? and gave *Ye* Leave to any that *Ye* thought might be Convinced by them, Or, that were not of your Own Spirit and Principle? Yea, Did *Ye* not Order the Prison-Yard to be made close? — and was not a Board nailed up before the Window that looked out to the Door of the Jail where people used to come at them, that none might visit them? With many more Cruelties, which were Ordered and done for the present Distress (as *ye* call it) of Two Poor Women arriving in Your Harbour, which so shook *ye* to the Everlasting shame of *you*, and of your Establish'd Peace and Order, as if a formidable Army had Invaded Your Borders? and made *You* not this Order to be in force till the sitting of the next Court General? And, did not the next Court General confirm the same? And are not all these unmanly and base Proceedings more than an [only] securing

ring of *their* Persons? Are *they* not Censures and Punishments, and that relating to *their* Persons?

Besides, Did *Ye* send *them* away by the *first* Opportunity? Did *ye* not detain, after the manner aforesaid, the *two* former for the space of about *Five weeks*, and the *latter* about *Eleven*? And was there *no* Opportunity, during *those* long spaces of time, to have shipp'd *them* away sooner by the *Way* of *Barbados*, or otherwise? Or, staid *Ye* not for the Return of the *Ships* that brought *them*, that so *their* Passages might be on the Charge of *them* that brought *them*, on whom *Ye* laid *this* Unreasonable Burden, *they* being ignorant before *they* came from *Barbados* or *England*, of (nor was there *any*) *such* Law of *Yours*? And, did *Ye* not Compel *Robert Lock* (a *Master* of One of the *Ships*) to carry *them* back on *his* own Charge, being *Eight* of *them*? and bind *him* in Bond so to do, and to land *them* no where but in *England*, (a *strange* Usurpation Over *Other* Countries and *Your* Own, and the *Master* and *them*) And did *Ye* not Imprison *him*, till he became so bound, and so Undertook? And, did *Ye* not bind *William Chichester* (the *Master* of the Vessel whom you got to carry *them*) in *One Hundred Pound* Bond, to carry the *Two Women* that came first away, and not to suffer *any* to speak with *Them* after that *they* were forcibly by *Your* Order, put on board *her*, or to land *them* in *any* Part of *Your* Jurisdiction? And during the *Long* seasons of *their* Imprisonments aforesaid, Did *Ye* take Care for *their* Maintenance? as *Ye* ought to have done, having Imprisoned *them* as aforesaid, and *closely*, so that none could come at *them*; for *Ye* knew not that *they* had *any* Money, or Friend to help *Them*: Or, Was not *Nicholas Upskall* (a Member of *Your* Church, a *Long-liver* in *Boston*, an *Ancient Old Man*, and full of *Years*, of whose sore Sufferings at *your* hands more particularly in *their* Place) denied Liberty to send Provisions to *Them*, out of *his* Regard to *Strangers*, lest *they* should have starved, till he Purchased it at the rate of *Five shillings* a week of *Your* Jaylor (another of *Your* Church-Members). And whilst *they* thus lay under *Your* Merciless Cruelty, Did *Ye* not seek *all* the ways and means *Ye* could to Ensnare *them*, and to draw something out of *them* (who had none besides) wherewithal to Reproach, and charge *them*, and the *Truth* *they* witnessed? Examining *them* single and apart, as to

Robert Lock

Nicholas Upskall

the same things, to see if *Ye* could catch them in any Untruth; or, as to the *Matters of their Faith*, Who had not declared any thing Publickly, nor were suffered so to do; Or to speak with any One, as hath been said. But, blessed be the Lord (who was near, and preserved them) *You* missed your Expectation, and neither did, nor could find any thing against *Them* wherewithal to charge them, or the *Truth*, though *Ye* laboured it hard; And had Your High Priest Norton (who said, *The Justice of God was the Devil's Armour*) and his Brethren (the very Shop and Forge of most of these, and the Cruelties to be rehear'd, of whom more anon) to Your Assistance, even in Your Court General, (to the shame of your selves, who took upon You a Jurisdiction you were not able to manage without the help of a Priest, as it is of his Profession to meddle with Civil Jurisdiction) and when *Ye* could get no Advantage against them by this way of working (the Witness of God in him and you answering to the Truth they spake, and so were disappointed, Were *Ye* not sorely vexed within you? (having nothing from your selves or others as any breach of Your Laws, wherewithal to cover Your Proceedings against Them) And did not John Endicott your Governour (with whom I have a large Reckoning ere I have done) sufficiently manifest it, when he blood-thirstingly said to them; — Take heed ye break not Our Ecclesiastical Laws (who thought the Bishops so hard who put none of them to Death) for then *Ye* are sure to stretch by a Halter — (the thing that lay then in Your Bosoms, which *You* have since accomplish'd) and did he not further manifest it, when he told them, — They should not have a Copie of those Laws (a most Tyrannical Reply) when they desired it thereupon, that they might know on what ground they went; to the grieving of the People then present, who said Openly in the Court, — How shall they know then when they Transgress? — And did he not manifest it yet further, when (being at Salem, when Anne Austin and Mary Fisher were dealt withal, as aforesaid, against whom there was no Law) he said, — If he had been there (viz. at Boston when they were so mis-used) he would have had them well whipe? And after all these Centiures, Punishments and Tyrannical Proceedings (which were more than an [only] securing them, in Order to be sent away the first Opportunity) Did ye not Condemn them to Banishment

ment from that part of their Country unto which they have a Natural Right, and some of them a Municipal, having served an Apprentiship therein. Who had broken no Law, and so were by the Judgment of the Law persons Innocent? And after ye had so Ordered their Causeless Banishment, Did ye not Authorize Michelson your Marshal General, to Leave upon the Goods of some of them a Certain Sum of Money, and Deliver it to the Jaylor for his Fees, from those whom you had so Unjustly Imprisoned? Who had no other Goods than their wearing Apparel, and the Beds they lay on, which they brought out of the Ships: Yea, Did not Your Jaylor take away the Beds they lay on (than which they had no other to ease them on in their Passage to England) for his Fees? And, Did he not keep them after those People were sent on Board, till Capt. Oliver, and some of the Country, being asham'd of a Cruelty so manifestly contrary to the Countries standing Law, (which is, not to take away the nether Millstone, &c.) gathering Money among themselves (unknown to those People) paid his Demand? And, did Ye not Execute upon Them this Cruelty of Banishment, in sending them to England? for which You are to Answer, and all your o her Laws and Proceedings Repugnant to the Laws of England. Yea, not only unto them, but to Richard Smith (an Inhabitant of Long Richard Island, who came in the Ship with them, and whom Ye called their Profelyte) did not your Unreasonableness extend, because he was their Profelyte, as ye said? Had ye not him up before your General Court with the Later? and Committed ye not him to Prison also? and did ye not detain him there about Three Weeks from his Wife and Children? And when, by Leave from the Jaylor, he went to your Meeting on a First Day of the Week, and after the Priest had done, said, —It was the saying of the Governour, that he should have Discourse with some of the Godly Ministers, to Convict him of his Error, and that he was deluded; and that if there were any such Godly Ministers that could so Convict him, he was ready to hear what they could say— Did not your Governor herupon declare, That his intent was it should be private (a sorry Shepherd that cannot lead a stragling Sheep into the (pretended so to be) right way before the rest of the Flock.) And when the said Richard desired it might be otherwise, and that at that present it might be, were ye not

Enraged at him, and sent ye not him away to the Prison again, and from thence by Water to his own Habitation, not suffering him to passe through the Country (so great were your Fears) lest he should infect it (as was your Slander) with his Poysonous Distripe. And did not your Council for the present Distress upon the Arrival of the Two Women aforesaid, lay a great Fine upon such Masters of Ships as should bring any of those People into your Jurisdiction, as they required Simon Kempthorne who brought them, to Transport them, or Cause them to be transported directly to Barbados from whence they came, and to Defray all the Charge of their Imprisonment; and to give Security to your Secretary in a Bond of One Hundred Pounds Sterling, for the effectual performance thereof; and upon his Refusal to give such Security, to send him to Prison, till he did it? And did he not do it, though ye had no such Law before he arrived, against those People, as hath been declared?

Yet I have not done with you.

Simon
Kemp-
thorne.

Mary
Fisher,
Anne
Austin.

Fourthly, (to add no more) Did ye not shamelessly cause Two of the Women aforesaid, viz. Mary Fisher, and Anne Austin, to be stript stark naked, and so to be search'd and mis-used, as is a shame to Modesty to name? and with such Barbarouineſs, as One of them, a Married Woman and a Mother of Five Children, suffered not the like in the bearing of any of them in o the World? And when there was no Token found upon them but of Innocency, Were ye satisfied therewith? Or, did ye not afterwards continue them close Prisoners, and banish them as aforesaid?

And yet, how say ye, that ye [only] secured their Persons in Order to be sent away the first Opportunity, without Censure or Punishment? Are not these Censures and Punishments, and very sore ones too, and, next to Life, some of the greatest (all Circumstances considered?) Is not this more (yea, in many particulars) than an [only] securing their Persons to be sent away the first Opportunity? Can Ye (who in cool blood, and so deliberately, and as by Order of the Court, and under Your Secretaries Hand (a Chief Instigator of Your Iniquity) and in Defence of your selves, as to the Blood of the Innocent, which ye have spilt) have vented so many Lies and Falshoods, blush, or be ashamed? Is this your Entertaining of Strangers, your Civility,

your

your Manhood to those who travel'd so many Thousands of Miles to Visit You in the *Movings* of the Lord? Whom at least Ye should have well-intreated (and *Ingenuity* would have done it) for their Love sake, though they had been (as these were not) mistaken in their End; and rather have prayed *them* (as the *Gadarens* did their Master (whose *Inhospitality* ye Exceed, though they medled not with *your* Swine) to have departed, instead of Expelling them *your* Coasts, and imprisoning, and close imprisoning, and dealing with them not as Men and Women of the same Generation as you, and *Creation*, but as Beasts of Prey.

O ye Rulers of the *Darkness* of this World! whose End is come; and the Measure of *your* Iniquity; Unto what shall I liken You? Whereunto shall I compare You? Whither shall I go to fetch your Judgment? unto what Nation to Condemn you?

Shall I take a *View* of the *Indians* near you? Their Kindness to those People in Entertaining them in their *Wig-wams* (or Tents) as their Inns upon their Travels in the Night (where otherwise, nothing but the Open Wilderness must have lodged them) in Cold and Rain, in Hunger and Thirst, and Weariness in their Journeying to you, and being banish'd from you; their readiness to take off (of themselves) the Upper Garments of those People, and hang them up about the fire, when these came in Wet; their making ready warm Meat (such as they had) and good Fires for them; their furnishing them with Provisions, and freely too, and guiding them scores of Miles in the Woods (who otherwise, as to Men, might have perish'd; for their Travellings were harder than their Sufferings, though their Sufferings were very hard; (as you will hear by and by, and do know in part who inflicted it upon them) their lying in Woods; the hardness to find the Way; the foordings of Rivers, yea, when somewhat frozen with the Ice; the danger of falling into great Rivers ere they were aware in the Moon-sight through the Thickets; with much more, too long to relate) doth sufficiently speak it: Their discovering of the *Workings* of some of your Priests, when they were got amongst them, to destroy them, and for the Indians to do it, which they refused; Their Commiserating the Sufferings which these People received at *your* hands; and being glad of their Deliverance; and Crying out against *your* Cruelty exercised upon these Servants of the Lord, about the worship of their God, doth sufficiently condemn you.

Shall I pass from *Them* Over the *Globe*, the *Tropicks* of *Cancer*, and *Capricorn*, the *Line Equinoctial*? Shall I return to *Europe*, to *Ultima Thula*, the *Utmost North*, and make *Search* among those *Nations*? There I shall find them passing quietly through *Sweden*, and *Denmark*, bearing their *Testimony* amongst *Calvinists* (so called) and *Lutherans*. Yea, * the *King of Denmark* himself friendly receiving *Books* from *One* of them with his *Own* hand at *Copenhagen* his *Royal City*, and Suffering him to pass in *Safety*, who gave them him after some *Discourie* together with his *Head Covered*; thus *Reproving* You.

* John
Hall.

Shall I pass the *Sound*, and tread the *weary Steps* of a *Traveller*, through *Fusland*, *Glückstadt*, *Hamborough*, *Embsen*, and other *Towns* and *Countries* in the *East* of *Germany*, and so to *Heidelberg*, the *Chief City* of the *Palatinate*; and there set up a little; There I shall understand of a *quiet Passage* in and through them all, and of the *Prince Elector Palatine* of the *Rhine*, his sending to *William Ames* (who first *Ministred* and gathered a *People* in those *Parts*) and of his *Own Accord* taking off the *Fine* of *Twelve pound* laid upon *Whosoever* should *Entertain* *William*, by his *chief Magistrate*, & giving him *free Liberty* to *Declare* against *Evil* in his *Dominions*. I shall there also understand of the said *Prince Elector's* forbidding him to go to the *High Council* of the *Church* (as it is called) upon their *summoning* him to appear, saying, That he (the said *Prince*) would take him off; And when the said *Council* notwithstanding *summon'd* him again, the *Prince* understanding that he was in the *City*; (viz. at *Heidelberg* where his *Palace* was, and the *Convocation* of the *Priests*) I shall find that he sent two of his *Servants* one after the other for him to come and dine with him the said *Prince*, and when he came, that he told him that he knew not of his being in the *City* before; That the *Priests* had not so much *Power* as to send for him, nor should have such *Power*; That he had reprov'd the *Priests* for what they had done; and bad him if ever they sent for him againe, not to obey them; That he rebuked one of the *chiefest* of the *Priests* of that *Council* for saying, That they (viz. the *Priests*) would give out *Querries* in *Writing* to him to *Answer*; and that he charged the said *Priests* in the presence of the said *W. Ames*, that they should give forth none, (though *William* was as ready to answer as the *Priests* to give forth) That the *Prince* used much *Moderation*, as did also his *Sister*; That she received

received very friendly what was spoken by him in way of Exhortation to her; That neither of them were offended at what was spoken by him to them, nor at the *Hatt*, nor with plain Language, *Then* and *There*. I shall there also understand, that when about the space of a year after, he and another friend (*viz.* *John Higgins*) came to Visit him, that he very lovingly received them; That the Captain of the Prince his Life Guard told the said *William*, that his Prince was very glad that he (the said *William*) was come into the Countrey again; That he had given him (the said Captain) order to supply them (though they neither wanted, nor asked, nor received) with what ever they wanted, either Money or Clothes, in which his Love was seen and accepted; That he very friendly received divers Books from them, both then, and at times before; And, that when at another time *Samuel Fisher* and *John Stubbs* were there from England, and had given notice to the said Prince his Secretary, that they had *something* in Writing to present the said Prince, That he (the said Prince) sent for them into the Presence Chamber, (where was also his said Sister) and received it gladly from them, and a Book enclosed, (their Hatts being on) Expressing much Dabie after Friends Books, and receiving at another time a Great Book of *George Fox's*; and a Letter from *William Ames*, by the hands of *John Higgins*, and charging him (the said *John*) to thank the said *William* for that his Book. Moreover I shall find that he had much Discourse with them: That he told them that he took their coming in Love; That he believed they spoke in love to their Souls; That he gave them thanks for their Love; That after a while being called to Supper he took them with him; that he shewed them his House; that he stayed them by him whilst he did eat; That they had Discourse with his Chaplains, and divers of his Great Men whilst they did eat; That neither he nor any of them, during all this time (though it was a season of greater Pomp and State than ordinary, the Prince and his Nobility being met about the Choice of a New Emperor) manifesting any Offence at their Discourse; or at their Hatts, or at their standing Covered though (according to their Custom) the Prince and his Nobles sat with their Hatts off; but on the contrary the Prince manifesting much Satisfaction with what they said, and enquiring after *William Ames* (who also had the same

same liberty with him, at his time of eating, and with and before his great Men) and how he did, saying he was not well when he was last with him; That in friendliness and love they departed; That they had free Liberty to Meet in any part of his Dominions, in the very heart of which there is a Meeting of Friends gathered into the Truth by the said William as aforelaid, who Meet together with the said Prince's knowledge; Whose Meetings are Peaceable.

Lastly, I shall there find, That when John Stubbs and Samuel Fisher were afterwards in Germany, that the Land-Scriver, (the next Officer in Power under the Prince, and divers of their Ministers sent to them to give Him and the said Ministers a Meeting; That Samuel Fisher Met them alone (John Stubbs not being well) that he had much moderate Discourse with them and Liberty a pretty time, and that he quietly passed away, after that the Land-Scriver and Ministers had expressed much thankfulness to him for his Love, who were not offended at his Hat, nor plainness of speech. All which make ye manifest.

Shall I journey hence into Lower Germany, the United Provinces, and into the Cities thereof, and make an Inquisition through some of the Principal of them, as Amsterdam, Schiedam, Leiden, Rotterdam, Zurich, Middleburgh? In Amsterdam I shall find a People gathered, Meeting in Peace, and free Liberty of Passing up and down in those Provinces, for the Declaring of Truth. And at Middleburgh, in Zealand I shall find a Friend speaking in a Steeplehouse after their Minister had done, and a quiet Reasoning there for the space of half an hour in the presence of one of the Heers or Lords of that place, who was very Moderate and in English Discoursed with that Friend for some space of time without offence taken at his Hat or plain Language; and then desired further Discourse with him at the Ministers house, and went with him to the said Ministers house, he the said Heer on the one hand of him, and the said Minister on the other, to conduct him; and I shall also find that there they had very moderate Discourse in the presence of many Persons of Quality, who neither were offended at his being Covered, nor with his plain Language, but were very courteous to him, and when they had done, sent two with him to accompany him to his Lodgings. And in the same City of Middleburgh, another

* Friend

*Friend being in Prison (C. Brickhead of Bristol in England; * Christopher by Name) an Information being given thereof by some Friends Brickhead. to the States General Lord Ambassador Newport, then Resident in England; I shall find that the said States General Lord Ambassador wrote to the Magistrates there, and the Magistrates thereupon setting him at Liberty; thus Condemning Ye.

Shall I take shipping from Flushing, and pass to Calais on the one hand, and return back to Holland and so to Geneva, and Switzerland on the Other, and foot it through some of the chief Cities of France, viz. Lyons, Paris, Valence, Orange, Rochel, Morliax, and to Tyrol in the Alpes, and so into Italy, to Legorn in Tuscanny, to Venice and to Rome (time would fail me to instance all) There I shall meet with Friends Passing and Repassing Safely, continuing in divers Cities sometimes, and passing through them, even in Italy, (the most Complemental of any) and returning into England, though they were Examined before divers in Authority in those complemental Places, who neither scrupled at their Passage, nor at their Hats. At Paris one of them being in the Bastile in Prison, was served daily with the same Provisions as was a Noble Man of theirs then in the same Prison at the Kings charge, and afterwards set at Liberty. At * Morliax another of them being in Prison for reproving their Maskings which are tolerated by Law, and his Life vehemently sought after by the Bayliff of that Town for so doing, I shall find * William Salt. the King upon Information thereof by the English Ambassador Lockart (by means of a Merchant of that Town, whom the Lord stirred up in the thing) I say, I shall find the King sending a Letter under his hand and seal to set him presently at Liberty, taking notice in the said Letter, that he was Imprisoned for so Reproving of Maskings, tolerated by the Law; and when the King was informed that he was not yet set at Liberty, I shall find him sending another Letter to the Duke of Millerau to see it effected, and that upon it he was free, he being (as it were) become but as the Shaddow of a Man thorough the hardship of his sufferings. At Rochel I shall find the Judge of the Criminals working the Liberty of * another after he had been examined by the Bishop, and continued a pretty space of time against the Judge of the Civels, and Discharging him, though * Christopher Brickhead. he both spake and wrote against the Popish Religion. At Legorne

** John Perrot.* in Tuscany. ** John Perrot* and his Companion *John Love*, being had to the *Inquisition* (otherwise called the *Popes Holy Office*) and examined there by three Friars, I shall there find, That upon *John Perrots* giving an Account of his Call and Service, and of the Books that he had sent to the Governour (One of which was to the Great Turk which he had wrote in that place, and another to the Jews) and of what they had further to say to them, that they set them at Liberty, and discovered to them a Plot that some English had to Murder them, and bad them beware of their Country-men; That the Governour of that City not only received willingly several Books and Papers, which they sent him by an Ancient Merchant there (One Origine) who was very friendly, but exprest much tender regard of their safety, saying, — That he would not have them come to any hurt in that Land ; — And making no question at their Gesture, nor finding any dislike at their not being conformable to their Customs when they were brought before them ; And that the English Agent there Resident for England was very friendly to them, and oft-times became himself Interpreter in the Disputes between them and the Jews, at whose Synagogues they were, and there reasoned with them ; whom, to their Chamber from the Synagogue some of the Jews followed, where they were some of them Convinced, and some Confounded. At ** Venice* I shall also find several of them Discoursing and reasoning on the Exchanges, and having much Entercourie and freedom in that City (where none were imprisoned) and this with men of all sorts, Jews and Papists; and I shall find *John Perrot* speaking there with the Duke of Venice in his Palace, and delivering to him several Papers, and so departing with his Friend *John Love* from thence to Rome, being sent from Smyrna by the English Ambassador (as were divers others) who would not suffer them to pass to Constantinople from thence, whitherto they were moved of the Lord, for fear of the Great Turk. At Rome I shall find some of them, viz. ** Samuel Fisher* and *John Stubbs* to have been there for certain days, and to be departed ; Others of them, viz. *John Perrot* and *John Love* to be Imprisoned ; and one of them, viz. *John Love* to be dead there, and the other well entreated, as a Prisoner of whose welfare we have lately by Letters under his own hand understood. All which pass sentence upon you.

Shall

Shall I take upon me a long Journey from Rome to Constantinople, from the Pope to the Turk, and wade through the difficulties of such an Undertaking? Shall I Traverse the Morea, or that part of the Turkey Dominion which is called Greece, from Patra (on the Seashore towards Zante) to Ephesus, and from thence to Corinth, Enece and Athens? (where Paul preached.) Shall I cross the Hellespont to Egrippa in the Island Negropont, and so to Sco, and the other Isles, to Smyrna in Asia, and so back again to Venice? Shall I return to Zante, and the ~~Adriatic~~ again, and Travel about 600. Miles from the Morea shore to Adrianople, and from thence to the Turkish Army Encamped near it, and through the Army to the Grand Seigneur himself, and tell you of one Passage for all to Conclude ye for Ever?

Mary Fisher a Servant of the Lord, a Maiden Friend, being moved of the Lord to go and deliver his Word to the Great Turk, who with his Army lay Encamp'd near to Adrianople, went thitherwards to Smyrna, but being hindred in Her Passage that way by the English Ambassador, who sent her back to Venice, passed by Land from the Sea Coasts of the Morea to Adrianople afore said, very Peaceably without any abuse or injury offered her in that long Journey of about five or six hundred miles. Being come to Adrianople, near unto which was the Great Turk, and his Army, she acquainted some of the Citizens with her Intent; and desired some of them to go with her, but when none of them durst to go fearing his Displeasure, she passed alone, and coming near the Camp, procured a man to inform at the Great Viziers Tent (or chief General of the Army) that there was an English woman had something to declare from the Great God to the Great Turk. Who soon sent her word that she should speak with him the next Morning. So she returned to the City that night; and the next morning came to the Camp, and so to the Great Turk, who being with his great Men about him, as he useth to be when he receives Ambassadors, sent for her in; and she coming before him, he asked her, Whether it was so as he had heard, (i.e.) That she had something to say to him from the Lord? She answered him Yea. Then he bad her speak on (having Three Interpreters by him) and when she stood silent a while; waiting on the Lord when to speak, he supposing that she might

be fearful to utter her mind before them all, asked her, *Whether she desired that any might go forth before she spake?* She answered, *Nay*; Then he bad her speak the Word of the Lord to them, and not to fear, for they had good hearts and could hear it, and strictly charged her to speak the Word she had to say from the Lord, neither more or less, for they were willing to hear it, be it what it would. Which she speaking what the Lord had put into her mouth to say, They all gave diligent heed with much soberness and gravity till she had done, and then He asking her, *Whether she had any more to say?* She asked of him, *Whether he understood what she had said?* He replied, *Yes, Every word*; and further said — *That it was Truth* — and desired her to stay in that Countrey, saying — *That they could not but respect such a One as should take so much pains to come to them so far as from England with a Message from the Lord*; — and profered her a Guard to bring her unto Constantinople, whither she intended, which she accepting not (trusting in the Arm of the Lord which had brought her thither to bring her back, who had prospered her Work.) He told her, *It was dangerous Travelling, especially for such a one as she, and wondred that she had passed so safe so far as she had*; Saying, *It was in respect to her, and kindness that he profered it, and that he would not for any thing she should come to the least hurt in his Dominions*: (A Worthy Expression of so great a Prince) They were also desirous of more words than she had freedom to speak, and asked her, *What she thought of their Prophet Mahomet?* She Replied, *That she knew him not, but the Christ, the true Prophet, the Son of God, Who was the Light of the World, and enlighteneth every man that cometh into the World, Him she knew*: — And further concerning Mahomet, she said, *That they might judge of him to be true or false, according as the Words and Propheties he spake were either true or false*; Saying, *If the Word that the Prophet speaketh come to pass, then shall ye know that the Lord hath sent that Prophet, but if it come not to pass, then shall ye know that the Lord never sent him*. — To which they confessed and said, *It was Truth*. And so she departed through that Great Army to Constantinople without a Guard, whither she came without the least hurt or scoff to the Contumacious and praise of the Discipline of that Army, the glory of the great Turk, and his great Renown, and your Everlasting Shame and Contempt.

Shall

Shall I yet draw near to Death and the gates of the Grave, and steering my Course from Smyrna to Jerusalem; There I shall find the Turks at Ramla taking George Robinson, (a tender Youth of London) out of the hands of the Fryars, who by their Party, coming from Jerusalem, having heard a Report of him there, assaulted him in the Street, as he was passing thorow it to Jerusalem, unto which he was moved of the Lord: There I shall also find a Man of Great Account among the Turks, coming to the said George Robinson when he was at the place of Execution, near to the Mosco (or their Place of Worship or Temple) to be burnt with Camels Dung (as is their manner, a most lingering death) unto which he was sentenc'd; for being in their Temple, and not turning Turk; it being a Custom among them, That who-ever comes into their Temple, and turneth not Turk, must die: and thither he was brought against his will, on purpose to put him to Death: and the Priests of Mahomet, and much people were expecting when he would turn Turk, and using many Arguments and fair Promises to that purpose, supposing that for that End he came thither, but he was brought thither for another, which when the said Man in Reputation amongst the Turks understood, and a division arose between the Fryars and the Turk concerning him, which was of the Lord, who stirred among them for his Deliverance, and how they were in order to the bringing of him thither, and how that it was not in his own voluntary will that thither he came, but as he was compelled and carried; he being quiet in the Will of the Lord, and given up unto Him to dye, I shall find that the said Chief Man among the Turks had him to his House, and entertained him at his House for several dayes (he being a sickly youth, as I have said, and impossible it was for him, (according to men) ever to reach Jerusalem) and said, Whether he would turn Turk or not, he should not die: And when the Fryars, being disappointed of their End, went to Gaza to the Bashaw there, who was their friend, with many false Informations, on purpose to incense him against the said young Man, and whom they incensed him, that he sent for him, swearing that he would kill him with his own hands, I shall find the Town of Ramla making a Representation to the Bashaw of the Truth of the Matter, and of the many Injuries the said Fryars had offered to the young Man; and some of

himself going with it and *him*; which the *Bashaw* understanding and the *Truth* of the *Master*, I shall find *him* the said *Bashaw* *fining* the *Fryars* in *One Hundred Dollars*, to be paid to the said *Town* for the *Injuries* done there, and *requiring* the *Fryars* to carry him back from *Gaza* to *Ramla*, and from *thence* to *Jerusalem*; and back again upon the *Fryars* own charge to the *Part* from whence he came: So to *Jerusalem* he was brought, and before the *Caddee* (or *Turkish Governor*) and there I shall find him examined by the said *Governor*, concerning *divers* things appertaining to *Religion*, and his *Coming* thither, and his *Business*; And the *Governor* hearing his *Answers* with much *Moderation* and *Gravity*, and also what he said did *lye* upon him from the *Lord* to that *People*; and *dismissing* him, though he was much *instigated* by the *Fryars* to the contrary; and after *two* dayes (having had much *speech* with the *Fryars* who *rejected* his *Message*, and being *clear* in the *sight* of *God* of that *place*) I shall find the *Fryars* constrained to return *him* on their own charge, according to the *Bashaw's* *Order*, as *aforesaid*; And when he was returning through the said *Town* of *Ramla*, I shall find the *People* of the *Town* following after, and asking the *Fryars* whether he had been at *Jerusalem*? Who, though they said he had, yet would they not believe *them*, till they heard it out of his own *Mouth* (for it was their intent if he had been brought thither to have *staid* him, and constrained them to have carried him) which they understanding from his own *Mouth*, let him pass; Thus rising up in *Judgment* to *Condemn* *Tow*.

Shall I yet Cut thorow the *Straits* from one end to the other, and pass it also to the *Kingdom* of *Portugal*, and there Attempt the *Papish Inquisition*? There I shall find *Anne Gargil* passing through *Lisbone* (where she arrived from *Plimmonth* in *England*) to the *Palace* of the *King*, there looking for him, and meeting there with an *Irish Jesuite*, who told her the *King* was not at home; I shall find her *discouring* with him, and other *Jesuites* and *People* about their *Religion*; and *Returning* to the *Ship*, where I shall find her writing a *Paper*, and giving it to an *English Merchant*; and the *Inquisition* commanding it out of his hands, and sending for her from on board the *Ship* by the *King's* chief *General* of his *Forces* by *Land*, and *High Admiral* at *Sea*, and his *Great Chamberlain* and *Keeper* of his *Privy Seal*, with

an English Jesuite, and the King's Boat; and the Master of the Ship, whom, with her they brought on shoar, and took them into the Kings Coach, and conducted them (through many Guards after the Manner of Entertaining Ambassadors) to the Inquisition House, a fair Palace; the said Anne Gargil and the English Jesuite sitting at the one end of the Coach, and the Chief General and Admiral, and Great Chamberlain at the other: Being come to the Palace of the Inquisition through Three Guards, as aforesaid, there I shall find Twenty five Bishops (as they were said to be) sitting, Twelve on the one side of the Table, and Twelve on the other, in a large Room, with Three-corner'd Caps, and One at the Upper End with Six, and more richly arrayed than the rest, and three Chairs set at the other End of the Table, for the said Anne, the Master of the Ship, and the English Jesuite; who being come into the Room, I shall find the said Twenty five arising from their Seats, and standing with their Caps in their hands, till upon their beckning the said Three were sat down; and then sitting down also, and examining her of her Age, Nation and Business, and bidding her speak her mind freely in what she had to say, for that whatsoever she said she should not receive any prejudice— Which when she answered, and had spoken freely what she had to say from the Lord, and with boldness, and they had took it in writing, I shall find them reading to her what they had written from her Mouth, and the Paper which she had before given into the hand of an English Merchant, as aforesaid, which from him they had received; in which she had declared against them and their Idolatry, and called them Babylon and Antichrist; And having demanded, whether she owned the things there written and read unto her? and she owning them very boldly, I shall find them causing Her and the Master of the Ship, and the Jesuite to withdraw; which they doing, and being called in again, I shall find them tending to her a Paper to sign to this effect (sc.) — not to come on shoar again so that place, or to Discourse with any of that Nation; which she refusing, or to promise any such thing, I shall find them dismissing of her and the Master (after they had been there the space of Two Hours) and the said Great Officers of State taking them into the Coach again, and Conducting them in it to the Rivers side, and giving a Charge to a VVaterman to convey them to the Ship again,

again, and defraying the Charge: To the Praise of the Discretion of the Inquisition, and to your Confusion.

Being thus clear of these other Parts of the *World*, shall I cross the *Main* again to *America*, and in an *Untradden Path* by any *English* hitherto (as hath been heard of) *seek out Death*, and make my Way *five or six hundred Miles* on foot from *Virginia* to *New-England*, through *Unconuth Passages*, *Vast Wildernesses*, *Uninhabited Countries* for near *Two hundred Miles* together, and there finish your Account? There I shall find *Thomas Thirstone* afore said (one of those whom ye so barbarously used) and *Josiah Cole* of *Winterburne* near *Bristol*, his Companion, and *Thomas Chapman* of *Virginia*, traversing the said Ground from *Mary Land* to the *Susquehanoes* (the most Warlike of those *Indians*; who also are reported to drink the blood, and eat the flesh of their *Enemies*) and receiving from them the most Courteous Entertainment, not onely in *Lodging* and *Provisions* (such as they had) but some of them accompanying them, even to the *Dutch Plantation* (close by you) in some hundred of Miles off, which they met not with a *Man* or *Tent*; And so tender were they over them, as that they not only sought out *Provisions* and killed *Deer*, as they could come at it, for them, but spared their own *Provisions*, when they had none left for themselves, to the said *Thomas Thirstone* when he was sick on the Way (who was scarce one hour well during the Travel of *Three or Four hundreds* of Miles, and sometimes very ill.) After which, being come to another Nation of the *Indians*, and *Thomas Thirstone* being sick amongst them many dayes, and that near unto *Death*, I shall find them very friendly to them all, and taking what Care they could of him in all things; and one of the *Susquehano's* (whom the rest left behind them, when he lay so long sick) conducted them to the *Dutch Plantation*, after *Ten Weeks* time from their first setting out; and so came to You to bear their Testimony against a stiff-necked People, as the Lord had said to the said *Thomas*, when he lay so weak and desired *Death*; viz. — *I who have brought thee hither by my Mighty Arm, will carry Thee thorrow to Witness for Me against a Stiff-necked People in New-England* — And some of the *Susquehano's* came to visit him* when they heard he was in *Prison* afterwards in *Virginia*. Thus finishing your Account, which will be sore in the Day of the Lord, which is even coming upon you, who will Cut ye off, and give you your

Thomas Thirstone.
Josiah Cole.
Thomas Chapman.

* *Thomas Thirstone.*

your Portion with Hypocrites and Sinners; and such will be his Hand upon You, and so manifest his Judgments, because of what ye have done to his People, That as to what he shall do therein, Men shall glorifie God and say, — Righteous art Thou, O Lord; Just and true are thy Wayes, O thou King of Saints; Who would not fear and tremble before Thee, because Thy Judgments are made manifest?

And so after a long Descent and Travel in the Deep, and an abiding there; After a diligent Inquisition through all Religions, Calvinists, Lutherans, Papists (so called) Protestants, Jews, Mahometans; After a Narrow Search among Nations, Kindreds, Tongues and People; Swedes, Danes, Germans, Dutch, French, Italians, Jewes, Turks, Portuguez, Indians, Whereunto to liken Ye, unto what to compare you; from whence to fetch your Judgment, and from what Nation to condemn You? After a long course from the South-west towards the North-west, fromwards the North-west to the East, and from the East back to the South-west again; Of what I have found this is the Sum, That when they were but few in number, yea, very few, and strangers in those Lands, when they went from one Kingdom to another People, He suffered No Man to do them harm; Yea, he reprov'd Kings for their sakes, saying, Touch not mine Anointed, and, Do my Prophets no harm. And of their Entertainment, what hath been said is the Sum; But as for Ye, ye Men of New-England, ye Rulers of Boston, of Plimouth Patent, of New-Haven, Ye Shame of Men, Ye Refuse of Mankind; Higher than the Highest in Profession; Lower than the Lowest in Power; far beneath the worst of Men, whom the Lord hath tryed in this his Day, by his Messengers; Ye Serpents, Ye Generation of Vipers, what have Ye done to the Innocent, and with what Despight to those whom He hath sent to gather You, and to turn You unto God?

But to proceed.

What are the Opinions and Practices of these People which ye call Pernicious, and of which ye say, ye received Intelligence from Good hands, (and what are they?) from Barbados and England? What is Your Intelligence (or Hear-say?) and from whom did ye receive it? Seeing that upon this you have grounded all your Illegal and Barbarous Proceedings aforesaid against

them: What are their Tenets, which Ye call *Professed*? and what is it they did profess? What their behaviour to Authority? which Ye term *Turbulent* and *Contempuous*, and say, it would have justified (and it must have been very *Contempuous* and *Turbulent*) a *Severe Animadversion*? What were the Attempts, which ye say they made (and they must be very great ones then; and of a *Hostile Nature*, such as they were never guilty of, for they have resisted none) against the *Peace* and *Order* established among you, in making Provision to secure which (ye say) the *Prudence* of your Court (and what *Prudence* it was to be so frightened by the coming of two poor Innocent Women without *Sword* or *Stick*, *Relation* or *Acquaintance*, in a *strange place*, some thousands of Miles from their Outward beings; and so to manifest it, as the whole Country ring'd out: And what was Your *Peace* and *Order*, and how established; that the shadow of two Worms, or the *Hear-say* of their moving should so shake you, that you were forc'd to such Unmanly Proceedings, so base and cruel (as ye pretend to) let *Reasonable Men* judge) was only *Exercised*. And how came Ye to, or could Ye be [well] assured, (seeing the whole Charge is a *Lie*, and Ye prove it not, nor produce a *Particular* either) by your own Experience (who had none, nor did Ye ever see them before, or any of those People, Or) the *Example* of those of *Munster*, whom Ye call their Predecessors) that their Design was to *Undermine* and *Ruine* the same. Now in these things Ye ought to have been particular (as I have said) if Ye meant any thing that might satisfie the *Understandings* of Men, or clear Your Guilt; and not to go and put Men to *Death*, and cruelly exercise them, as a Court of *Justice*, and then *Apologize* for what Ye have done; and so submit it to the *Judgment* of others, which should have none to judge it had it been *Truth*, but the *Judgment* should lye in the *Justice* of the thing, which is higher than all, and cannot be submitted; and when ye have so done, and submitted it to charge only in the general, and so ridiculously too, that any wise man may see through it before it is opened, as if so be You were not to account; So working backwards and forwards, up and down, now here and now there, as Men drunk indeed with the *Blood* of the Innocent, whom Guilt suffers not to be silent; and yet when Ye speak, Ye manifest Your Guilt: For, as I have said to You,

Justice

Justice not done in Apology, but its Defence lies in the Justice of the thing that attraits the Mulfactor; which answers to God, and that of Him in every Man's Conscience, which is the highest. Not in the Declaration or Apology, which assigns the Justice: So, had ye been wise men, ye would have been silent, and have let the thing alone to have wrought as it would, and not as Cain (who slew his Brother about Religion, the state of You) have snatcht and catcht at every thing to save You, who thereby shew that ye are afraid of every thing. Behold, thou hast driven me Out this day (said Cain when he had slain his Brother, his Guilt spake in him) from the face of the Earth; and from thy Face shall I be hid, and I shall be a Fugitive and Vagabond in the Earth; and it shall come to pass, that every One that findeth me, shall slay me. Who put Ye upon this Apology? Who call'd Ye to account? Who disturb'd You? What's the matter? When a Superiour Power had called ye to an Account for the Blood of the Innocent, and the Cruelties of the Oppressed, then it had been a time for You to have Produced Your Cause, and brought forth Your strong Reasons, and to have shewn (if ye could have told how) Ground for Your Work, and Justice for Your Doings; But thus to Apologize, to beg, to beseech for a right understanding, or such an Understanding as Ye would have, as is the English of such a Declaration, when Ye seem to be in the height of your Blood, and on the Pinnacle of Your Throne, and thus pitifully to do it, and to Cut your own Throats, sheweth ye much below the Understanding of Men, as it manifesteth your Guilt. Thus much in Answer to this part of your Declaration.

Declaration.

I And accordingly a Law was made and Publish'd; Prohibiting all Masters of Ships to bring any Quakers into this Jurisdiction, and themselves from coming in, on penalty of the House of Correction, till they should be sent away.

Answer.

Hitherto I have had to do with you as to that part of the Sufferings of those People as were by you inflicted before the sitting of your Court; Or, that any Law was made by You against them;

them; Also, as to the *Ground or Reason* of those your Proceedings, who made them suffer *without a Law*. All which I have answered in the *beginning*, because ye have placed it so, and in regard it contains the *sum of your Charge against them*; Or, the *Cause of their Sufferings*; For, that which follows is but the *gradation* of your Proceedings from *Imprisonment to Death*, and rather demonstrates that Ye did *such and such things*, than the *Grounds* (or that ye had *Grounds*) on which ye did *them*, and so Your Declaration is a *Charge against your selves*. Now, as to your *Laws*, and the *Grounds* of them, and the *Sufferings* as to each. And because *Every Determination of Man* is *Justifiable*, or not, according to the *Ground* on which it stands, I shall begin with your *Grounds*, which I find to be *Two*, and then proceed to the rest.

The *First* is *Hear-say*, — Of whose *Pernicious Opinions and Practices* we had received *Intelligence*, &c. say ye in your Declaration, as aforesaid.

Ans. Now this is so poor and slender a Foundation (or rather none at all) on which to *ground*, or by which to *warrant* what ye have done, and the *Laws* ye have made; and so *Abominable*, that I shall need no further to *Evince* it than in the saying of *Virgil* (a *Heathen Poet* so accounted) *viz.*

Fama Malum quo non aliud Velocius ullum.

Mobilitate Viget, Viresque acquirere Eundo.

(i.e.) *Fame* (Report, Hear-say) is an *Evil*, than which there is none more *Swift*. It *lives by Motion*, and by going *getteth strength*.

The *Second*, is *Generals* — *Pernicious Opinions and Practices* — *Professed Tenets*, — *Turbulent and Contemptuous Behaviour* — *Attempts* — *Design* — with such like, which I shall repeat as I proceed to the following parts of your Declaration.

Ans. Now *Generals* are but the *Casts* of a *Cause*, they prove nothing (as I have said) and signify little but a *Design* to *slander*, and in them *lurks* (and is *conversant*) *Deceit*.

And yet upon these *Two* (and no other) Foundations (as to *Matter of Fact*) are your *Laws* *builted*, unto which I proceed.

Declar. — And accordingly a *Law* was made and *Published*, prohibiting all *Masters of Ships* to bring any *Quakers* into this *Jurisdiction*, and themselves from coming in on *Penalty* of the *House*

of Correction, till they could be sent away —

Ans. — And accordingly — According unto what? Surely to your *Grounds*, for unto *them* it must needs refer, to *that* which went before, or it stands for Nought; and what *they* are I have shewed, and according to the Proverb, — *Malus Corvus, Malum Ovis* — a Bad Crow, a Bad Egg — as is the Tree, so is the Fruit; and a sweet Fountain cannot cast out bitter streams, nor a Bitter sweet; As are your *Grounds*, so are your *Laws*; *You* selves have Connected them, and given the Construction Accordingly (say you) a Law was made —

Ans. And why such a Law? May not any free Denizen of England, reside or be, sojourn or inhabit in any of the *Dominions* thereof, not being chargeable to the Place; or, if the Place will bear them, that is to say, can live in it? for all cannot live together, as the Law of England provides. Is not England and its *Dominions*, as an *English-man's* house, there to be where *he* thinks best to accommodate his Affairs? I pray, how came you into *New-England*, and by what Right and Title do ye claim Privilege to sojourn there, and to Rule as Lords? Is it not by Right of Nature, into which the Law investeth you, as *Natural English-men*, into *its* Natural Habitations? Did Ye not think so when ye removed thither? and thought ye it not a Privilege inseparable from Nature? how came ye then so to forget your selves, as being possessed of, or having placed your selves in that Jurisdiction or Part of England, or of its *Dominions*, ye make a Law, or a Law is provided, to Prohibit, or Prohibiting all Masters of Ships to bring any Quakers (as ye reproach them) into that Jurisdiction, and themselves from coming in upon Penalty of the House of Correction, till they can be sent away, as saith your Declaration? Can that which is Natural, or General, or Common to all, as much to one Man as another, be managed into Particular? Can it be broken without a Force to Nature? Or, is it not broken when it is made Particular? and is it not made Particular when some are excluded the Common benefit? and are not some excluded, when they are not suffered to enjoy the Common benefit? Or, Do they enjoy the Common benefit, who are excluded? And, is not this to force Nature? And can Nature be forced without the Violation of Nature? Which is accounted Murder, (the same that said, He has shed

desb

deih Man's Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed, for in the Image of God made he Man, the same gave Man Dominion over the Beasts of the Field, and the Fowls of the Ayre, and the Fishes of the Sea, and bad him subdue it, and made all Men of one Blood to dwell on all the face of the Earth; and he that Violates the One, Commits the Other, for things that are Natural are of the same Quality; and the offence done against One thing that is so, is of the same Nature, as is done unto the rest, which no Law can tolerate, nor no Judge make (that is to say) that to be Law which is against Nature, because it Voids the Law (be it what it will) That is to say, that which against Nature is. And the Reason is plain, because Law is to preserve Nature, or that which is Natural, or Common unto all, and is an Efflux, or a fruit of that, or that which is the Ground of Law, which were it not for, or to serve, defend, or preserve (and where it needs it not, there is no need of the Law) the Law would not be, for it stands in Nature, and when it deviates therefrom, or seeks to destroy it, it's from its Ground, & must be reduc'd to Nature, not Nature unto it; Nature must be the measure of Law, not Law of Nature, & this is manifest: What would become of all the Dissenting Persons in the World, if they who have Power in their hands should let none breath where they have Power who from them Dissent? What had become of you after this Rate? Had not the Bishops as much right to have cast ye out of all England's Dominions, and to have prohibited all Masters of Ships to bring you thither, or your selves from coming in on the Penalty of the House of Correction or worse, as ye have done, who Dissented from them? For, if it be lawful for you, being seated in a Place, and having Power (and yet yours is but relative, and Dependant on England) so to Prohibite and Restraine all that you like not; It is Lawful for all who are so seated to do the same; and New England is under England, as are the Isles of VVight, and the English Fishing Places in New-found-Land. And if it be lawful for all to do so (and your Law Establishes it) where then will ye go at your next Remove, or into what Corner of the Earth, seeing that there is scarcely an Inhabited Spot that is One with You?

But why not into your [this] Jurisdiction? Are you intailled thereunto, you and your Heirs for Ever? How came ye so to be? and by what Right? Is it because ye came out of Old England?

England: So did these. Is it because you are English Men? So are they. Is it because ye Dissented from the Government Establishment, and so fled from the Trial of your Principle? These stand to their Principle, and through all Sufferings come to you to Convert them unto. If ye say, We are a People Independent of Our selves, and so may make Laws within our own Jurisdiction; Then ye are not Dependent on England: If that from Old England ye have such a Power, Then shew it, for (I think) I have the Coppy of your Charter by me, and there is no such thing, but the Condition of it runs it more than Once (sc.) — Provided that they (to wit the Laws it gives ye Power to make) be not Repugnant to the Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances of this Realm. —

Yea, Why not into [this] your Jurisdiction above all other, seeing that above all other your Jurisdiction is most suitable? If ye say, We agree not with them in Matters of Religion; Nor did, nor do ye now with the Bishops, nor they with you; and yet no Law turn'd ye Out, nor did they Procure a Law for that Purpose, nor was a Law made (as you have done who have no such Power) nor suffered to be so, nor was their Motion thereunto, (as far as I have heard I am sure there is no Law) and so you are without Excuse. Your Remove was of your selves, nor were ye kept out thence by any Law when ye moved, Nor from returning again to England, as ye minded a Removing; and ye have returned unto England, and have been suffered so to do, as if ye had not Removed. Yet a Law ye have made, Prohibiting all Masters of ships to bring in of your Brethren among you (who were not prohibited your selves) and themselves from coming in on such a Penalty. Which leads me to the next Particular (viz.) The Sufferings by this your Law. — And accordingly (say you) a Law was made and Published. —

Answer. This Law is put as the Port or Entrance into this Scene of Blood, and Cruel Sufferings, and the very Publication of it Enters it, and shews the Spirit by which it was made, and the Ground on which it went; and poor Nicholas Upshall (a Weakly Old Man) of your Town of Boston bore the Brunt of it. For, he hearing it proclaimed, and being grieved at the heart for your sakes, and the Countries, that such a thing should be done which he tooked upon as a sad fore-runner of some heavy Judgment,

Nicholas
Upshall.

ment, gave his Dissent; Which ye took so ill at his hands, that though he was a Member of your Church, and of good Repute among you, for a man of a sober and unblamable Conversation, and though in much tenderness and love he spake to you the next day when ye had him before you, desiring you to take heed, lest ye should be found fighters against God, and some sudden Judgement follow it on the Land, which was the Counsel which wise Gamaliel gave the chief Priests and Pharisees, and which they received at his hands, and it would have been your Wisdom so to have done; Yet you fined him twenty pounds, (which ye Enacted, I'll not bate him one groat, said your cruel Governour, John Endicot) and three pounds more by another Court for not coming to your Meetings, (and this after he was Imprisoned) and into Prison ye cast him; and banish him ye did out of your Jurisdiction, allowing him but One Moneths space (of which the time of his Imprisonment was part) for his Remove; neither regarding his old years (who had scarce a Tooth in his head to eat his meat, and bread and cheefe and other Sustenance was scraped into a spoon when he received it) nor the weakness of his Body; nor the state of his aged Wife and Children which were amongst ye, nor the season of the year, (it being in the beginning of Winter, which with you is very cold, and he might have perished therein, as some have done in passing but from Town to Town, though but of Three Miles distance) but Out he must go, and when he was departed into Plimmouth Patent Jurisdiction, which was the next adjacent, the Governour thereof (One Bradford, since dead) to help on the matter, hearing of his coming (for after your Pipe danced that Plantation, as will appear by and by in the Cruelties that Enſue which they inflicted on the Innocent) issued forth a Warrant, that none of Sandwich (whereunto he was come) should Entertain the poor Man; which not Availing (for their hearts were more tender then to cast him Out (such an Aged Man) in time of Winter, he sent for him to Plimmouth by a special Warrant, which was Twenty Miles distant, but he not being able to go, and writing to him, that if he perished his Blood would be required at his hands, through the Moderation of some of the (then) Magistrates he was permitted to stay till the Spring; but then was he banished thence, who there had done nothing, but came into their Jurisdiction for a little shelter in the Winter Season)

to *Rhode Island*; and this so earnestly prest in the *early* time of the year, that he was like to have been cast away in his going thither. A Piece of Cruelty able to soften a heart of *Flint* and Draw it into teares at the sence thereof, and which drew such Compassion from a *Sagamore* (or *Indian Prince*) That he told the *Old man*, if he would live with him he would make him a warm house, calling him *Friend*, and further he said, — *What* a God have the *English* who deals so with one another about the *VVorship* of their God? — Or words to that purpose. But from you it drew no Relentings, but the spirit of *Iniquity* having got over you, it hardned ye the more, by how much the more you were Exercised therein, yea upon this very *Old Man*, as in its place I shall shew; and by and by make manifest. Even the *Sea-Monsters* draw forth their *Breast*, and give suck to their *Young*, but the *Daughter* of my *People* is become Cruel like the *Ostrich* in the *VVilderness*.

Thus Entred (as I have said) this Scene of Blood, and what follows answers unto it.

For, the *Eight* aforesaid, viz. *Christopher Holder*, *Thomas Christopher Thirstone*, *John Copeland*, *VVilliam Brend*, *Mary Prince*, *Dorothy Thirstone*, *VVaugh*, *Sarah Gibbens*, and *Mary VVeatherhead*, who were Committed before this Law was made, and kept close Prisoners for the space of about *Eleven Weeks*, the very Day that *Nicholas Copeland* was cast into Prison (as aforesaid) were they by vertue of this Law conveyed on board a Ship, the Ship they came in, and sent for *England*, and *Nicholas* came into their Room; Which Prison ye have supplied with the bodies of the *Saints*, and *Servants* of *Iesus* for the most part ever since; scarce One taken Out, but some One or other put into his Room; of which in its Place,

But how came *Nicholas Upshall* to be concerned in a Law for *Strangers* who was an *Inhabitant*? In a Law for *Quakers* (so called) who was a *Member* of your Church? In a Law for *Masters* of *Ships* who shall bring into your Jurisdiction any People that are called such, and for any such People who themselves shall come into your Jurisdiction, when as he is neither *Master* of a Ship, nor brought in any such, nor came in, but is an *Inhabitant* a *Freeman* of *Boston*? How comes he to Suffer and to have inflicted upon him a Punishment [above] the Penalty of the Law? How came those Eight to be sent away the Day after the

Publication of a Law, and by *Virtue* thereof, who were imprisoned before the Law was made? *These* things would be Enquired into, and how *Repugnant* they are to the *Laws* of England?

Declaration.

—Notwithstanding which by a Back door they found Entrance, and the Penalties inflicted on themselves proving insufficient to restrain their Impudent, and insolent obtrusions, was increased by the losse of the Eares of those who offended the second time; Which also being too weak a defence against their Impetuous Frantick Fury, necessitated us to endeavour our security, and upon serious Consideration after the former Experiments by their incessant Assaults, a Law was made, That such Persons should be banished upon pain of Death, according to the Example of England in their Provision against Jesuites; Which sentence being regularly pronounced at the last Court of Assistants against the Parties above-named, and they either returning or continuing presumptuously in this Jurisdiction after the time limited, were Apprehended, and owning themselves to be the Persons banished, were sentenced by the Court to Death according to the Law aforesaid, which hath been Executed upon two of them.—

Answer.

As the former was the Entrance into, so this is the Scene of this Bloody Tragedy, the most Inhumane and cruel that Ever Age knew, or preceding Generation.

Declara.—Notwithstanding which by a Back Door they found Entrance.

Ans. And, Why a Back-Door? Was not the way by which they came as much before ye as the Sea from England? Is Sixty Miles distance by Land from Rhaad Island (the Place from whence they came) become further then England? One would think that Properly and indeed, the Land it is, that is before you, which

which ye came to Inhabit, and that the *Sea* it is that is behind you, from whence ye came. How come ye then to say a *Back-door*? By a *Back-door* they found Entrance— Is it because you mistaking your Understandings, and so have put the fore for the back, and the back for the fore? Surely then ye were not wise in your Generation to bind the *Sea*, and leave the *Land* at Liberty. Is it because ye had journeyed far enough from *Old England* (the *House of Bondage*, so accounted) into *New* (a *Land of Liberty*) and now were returning from the *Land of Liberty* to the *House of Bondage*? Surely then ye are in a bad state, to become *Persecutors* your selves who fled *Persecution*. Or, is it because *Rhoad Island* is the Place into which ye banish't those that differed from you in Matters of *Religion* (who your selves were not banish't who differed in *Religion*) and so having turned your Backs on their Oppression, would not hear their Cry, as did *Joseph's Brethren*, when they sold him into *Egypt*? Then *Just* is the Lord to bring your *Condemnation* from the Place of those whom ye Oppress.

Declar.— Notwithstanding which (say ye) by a *Back Door* they found Entrance. —

Ans. And Why not? Are ye Lord's Proprietors of the Creation? May not the Lord of Heaven and Earth send His Messengers among ye, without your leave? May not an *English* man come into an *English* Jurisdiction? What *Insolency* is this, and high *Obirasion* on the Creator of Heaven and Earth, who gave you your beings upon the Nation from whence ye came, and in which ye first drew your breath, and the Right of Nature from which ye are derived, and from whence ye spring?

Declar.— They found Entrance. —

Ans. And Why should they not, seeing the Lord of all is He that sent them.

Declar.— Notwithstanding which —

Ans. Notwithstanding What? Why the Law prohibiting all Masters of Shippes from bringing in any, and themselves from coming in. Coming in! From whence? Why From or by Sea, for as for the Land that Door was not Shur, the Back-Door (as ye call it) but the Fore was. Notwithstanding which, viz. the Law aforesaid (say ye) by a Back-Door they found Entrance— Then how come they

to be concerned in a *Law* which was not fitted for *them*? It was for *them* that came in at the fore door by *Sea*, and *Ship-Masters* that brought *them*, who were Prohibited from bringing in any *such*, and *themselves* from so coming in; I say, how come *they* to be concerned in a *Law* which was not for *them*, and *you* to inflict upon *them* the Penalty of a *Law* which concerned *them* not (might *they* not come in at the back door, it being open, when the fore door was shut?) yea a Greater? For so say ye— And the Penalty inflicted on *themselves* proving insufficient to restrain their Impudent, and Insolent Obtrusions, was increased by the loss of the Eares of those that offended the second time.—

Ans^r. Insufficient indeed (and well might it be) and too weak a defence (as ye afterward spake of cutting off Ears, and therefore proceed from Banishment to Death) against *Him* who made the Earth and the Sea, and all that therein is, Who giveth unto *Man*, Life, and Breath, and Moving; Whose time being come for the sounding of His Everlasting Gospel to those who sate in Darknes, and Region of the shadow of Death in your Jurisdiction; he armed his Messengers against the force of Death and the strength of Darknes, with his Eternal Spirit, and enabled *them* to endure what the strength of the One and the Gates of the Other could inflict upon *them*; Whom ye have killed and put to Death, whipt and scourged, burnt in the hand, and cut off their eares, and so *they* bear in their Bodies the marks of the Lord Jesus, and the dying of Jesus is made manifest in their mortal flesh, that *they* might not trust in *themselves*, but in *him* that raised up Jesus from the dead; And a Crown of Life *they* shall receive, who loved not their lives unto the death for the sake of Jesus Christ.

Lastly, Insufficient against what? Against a few innocent Lambs among Wolves; a few simple People, Men and Women, who came to you not with Swords or with spears, but in the Name of the Lord, whom the Lord God of Life sent to you through Desarts, and Wildernes, and Necessities, and Straits, and Hunger and Thirst, and Cold and Heat, and Perils by Sea, and Perils by Land, and Temptations, and Distresses, to turn ye unto God; Whom ye have Imprisoned, and Whipt, and burnt, and cut off their eares, and put to Death. That all the righteous Blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of Righteous Abel, unto the blood of Zacharias the son of Barachias

Barachias, who was slain between the Temple and the Altar, may come upon you ; and verily it shall come on this Generation. And, the time is at hand, yea, near to be revealed, wherein the Righteous God will render unto you according to your Deeds ; yea, according to your Deeds will he recompence you. Fury to his Adversaries, Recompence to his Enemies ; yea, to his Adversaries will he repay Recompence ; And the Lord God will Thunder out of Heaven upon you, and the whole Earth shall be filled with his Glory, when he shall have thrown ye down from your Seats, and Exalted the Humble and Meek ; Even when he shall have turned to hear the Prayer of the Desolate, and help him to Right that hath no Helper, and the Poor from him who is too strong for him, and the Needy amongst men. This shall be written for the Ages to come, and the Children that are unborn shall praise the Lord : And your Carcasses shall fall upon the Earth, and ye shall leave your Name a Curse unto my Chosen, saith the Lord.

Declar. — Which proving Insufficient —

Ans^r. What proving Insufficient ? Why the Penalty inflicted ; so saith your Declaration, (ic.) And the Penalty inflicted proving Insufficient. —

Ans^r. What was the Penalty ? and what did ye inflict ? O Ye shameless Men ! who make so slight of so heavy Punishments ! whose Cruel strokes pierc'd the Air, and whose Bloody Draughts the hearts and souls of those who saw it, as they did the Bodies of them whose Flesh ye tore, and whose Blood ye drew. Yet this is insufficient, — the Penalty inflicted proving Insufficient — Never Blood Enough to the spirit of Wickedness when once it lanches out, and dips its foot in the Blood of the Innocent ; So it was, and so it hath been with men in your state from the beginning. But the Righteous God will fill to you again, yea, double in the Cup that ye have filled, and ye shall surely have your Reward. Therefore, deceive not your selves ; for, as you have sown, so shall ye reap ; as you have done, so shall it be done unto you ; and ye shall know that I am the Lord, when I have taken Vengeance upon You, and rendred unto you according to your Deeds. Then shall you see, and be ashamed for your Envy at My People ; Shame shall cover you, who have said unto them, Where is now the Lord thy God ? and ye shall be a Perpetual Desolation ; the Mouth of the Lord of Hosts hath spoken it, who

who also will do it, and perform it in its season ; and the time is near.

Now, as to the *Sufferings* ; What were they, and your House of Correction, that ye make so slight of them, and say of them, — which proving *Insufficient*.

The First Two that came Over after this your Law, were *Anne Burden* and *Mary Dyar*, her whom ye afterwards put to death, after that ye had reprieved her (of which in its place) The One's business was (viz. *Anne Burden's*) to gather up some Debts in the Country (her Husband being dead, who was a long Inhabitant therein) for the maintenance of her and her children, who had lived about Sixteen years in *Boston* and those parts, and was unblamable before them with whom she lived ; Nor had ye any thing wherewithal to charge her now, but that she was a Plain Quaker, as *Richard Bellingham* said, and that she must abide your Law, who came for her Debts ; *Mary Dyar's* to pass that way to *Rhode Island*, having before she arrived there, no knowledge of what ye had done : These Two ye imprisoned, and kept close Prisoners that none might come at them ; and though *William Dyar* came for his Wife from *Rhode Island*, after he heard that she was there, and in Prison ; yet ye suffered him not to have her, until he became bound in a great Penalty (so great was your fear) not to lodge her in any Town of your Colony, nor to permit any to have speech with her (an unmanly thing) in her Journey. But as for *Anne Burden* ye held her to it, and when she was very sick in Prison, ye suffered not her Friends to come and visit her ; Yea, your Jaylor shut her up in a close Room in the heat of Summer, upon the Visits of Two Friends at the Window as they came from your Meetings. And as for her Debts, though some Tender-hearted People were moved to look after them whilst she was in this Restraint, and had procured to the value of about Thirty Pounds of it, and desired that she might have her Liberty, when ye sent her away, to pass to *England* by *Barbados*, because the Goods so gathered for that part of the Debt were not fit for *England*, which was so reasonable, that you seemed at first as if it might be, if any Voluntarily would receive her, for that ye could compel none so to do, but He that brought her thither ; and they upon this seeming Liberty of yours had procured such a Passage, Yet ye suffered her not to go, but

most unreasonably compell'd the *Master* of the Ship that brought her thither, to carry her back for *England* without any of her Goods with her, nor had she so much as *One Penny-worth* of her Husband's (except to the Value of *Six shillings*; which an *honest man* sent her upon an old Account) whilst she was in *New-England*; but ye returned her *Empty* to her Fatherleis Children, though they were born in the *Country*; and after that ye had kept her there for the space of *about Twelve weeks close Prisoner*, and put her to the charge of her abiding there and going back; and when the *Master* of the Ship asked who should pay for her *Passage*; *Ye* advised him to take so much of her Goods as would answer it; which he refusing to do so *wicked* a thing, and rather trusting to her *Honesty*, of which he was perswaded that she would not let him be a loser, though he could not *compel* her to pay, seeing she went not of her own will (and which she paid him in *London* upon that Account) ye let him go. And when he that had the *first* trust from her husband with the *Estate*, was to convey what was gathered to *Barbados* after she was gone; *Ye* stopp'd to the value of *six pounds ten shillings* of it for her *Passage* (who so went upon her own, and paid it in *London*, asore-said) and of *seven shillings* for *Boat-hire* to carry her on *Sihboard* (though the *Master* proffered *John Endicot* your Governour to carry her in his own; but *Richard Bellingham* your Deputy-Governor would not, but sent her with the *Hangman* in a *Boat* that he had prest) and of *fourteen pounds* for the *Taylor* (to whom she owed nothing) and as for the rest, Ie heard of *some* that was sent to the *Barbados*, by the *honest man* that stirred to have it in; but of him that was intrusted, she neither heard *when*, nor *what*, nor hath she any thing of it come to her hands (25th of the 2d Month, 1660.) to relieve her and her Children; and as for the *Remainder* of the *Estate* left in the *Country*, which should have been a *Livelihood* for her and hers, and for which she came, what is become of it she knoweth not, nor cannot go over to Enquire without a *Prison*. And this is your *Mercy*, your way to pay *Debts*; your *Tenderness*, your *Regard* to the *Widow* and the *Fatherless*, your *Justice* and the *Execution* of your *Laws*, when the *Reason* of your *Law* hath no place: And for this Expect that ye shall have your *Reward* from Him who is the *Father* of the *Fatherless*, and the *Husband* to the *Widow*;

Widow; who is no *Respecter of Persons*, but will render to every man according to his works.

29th of the 6th Month, of Children, and having a Husband in *England* whom *she* left, *Mary Clark*, being moved of the Lord to come unto you, ye unmercifully *John Clark* a tore with *Twenty stripes* of a *Whip* with *Three Cords* laid on with *Merchant-fury*, after *she* had delivered her Message to you, which *she* had from the Lord, which ye turned your backs upon, and said, —*Ye would not hear*— like those Proud men to whom the Prophet *Jeremiah* spake in the Word of the Lord. So *she* turned her Back to you, and ye smote it as aforesaid, and having detained her Prisoner about *Twelve weeks* after in the *Winter* season, ye turned her out of your Jurisdiction, *Who now is not*. And this is your House of *Correction*, and the beginning of the inflicting of the Penalty which ye say was *Insufficient*.

Christopher Holder.
John Copeland.

Christopher Holder and *John Copeland* are the next, who being moved of the Lord to go to *Salem*, a Town in your Colony, and speaking a few words (viz. *Christopher Holder*) in Your Meeting after the Priest had done, was haled back by the hair of the head, and his Mouth violently stopp'd with a *Glove* and *Handkerchief* thrust thereinto with much fury, by One of your Church-Members and Commissioners, and they both thrust out, and had to a house, and continued there till the next day, and then had to *Boston*, where Ye laid it on with *Thirty stripes* a piece at Once, with a knotted *Whip* of *Three Cords*, as near as the *Hangman* could in One place measuring his Ground, and fetching his strokes with the greatest strength and advantage he could to Cut their *Flesh*, and to put them to suffering; The Cruelty of which was so great, that a *Woman* seeing of it, fell down as dead; Yet it had not End, for that Night, and Three dayes after your *Jaylor* kept them without Food or Water (lying on the Boards, without Bed or Straw, after so cruel Execution) and so close that none might come to speak with them, so they might have perished, but the Lord preserved them under your Merciless Cruelty; and when all this would not do, Ye kept them Nine weeks Prisoners without Fire in the Cold Winter season, and then turned them forth: And the Friend of *Salem* (*Samuel Shattock* by Name) who pull'd away the hand of the said Church-Member's and Commissioner, when he thrust the *Glove* and *Handkerchief* into

Samuel Shattock.

into the Mouth of *Christopher Holder*, lest it should have choaked him, being not able to behold so barbarous an Act; ye sent to *Boston* (though an Inhabitant of *Salem*, and a man of good repute amongst ye) and there ye kept him Prisoner (whom since ye have whipt and banish'd upon pain of Death) as a Friend to *Quakers* (though ye had no Daw so to do) who only did this friendly Act, till he had given in Bond of *Twenty Pounds* to answer it at the next Court, and not to come at any of the People called *Quakers* at their Meetings. And this was the second Progress of your House of Correction, and the further Infliction of your Insufficient Punishment, which ye laid on without Compassion or Pity, and yet call it Insufficient. — The Penalty inflicted proving Insufficient— say ye, who are thus Drunk in Blood, and fill'd with Madness, that ye care not what ye do to the Innocent, nor what Cruelty ye inflict, nor how your Rage reacheth up to Heaven in causing them to suffer; but being Mounted in Blood, ye ride on with speed, and No Consideration of Tenderness or Bowels can stop your Career, No not the sad Condition of your Neighbours (the Inhabitants) who had lived long amongst ye, and were Partakers of the same distance from their Country, and other Inconveniences, and were known to you to be of sober Conversations; your Eye pittied not, neither did ye spare them, the Cry of their Oppressions came not into your Ears, neither did your hearts relent, but as Men given up to a Reprobate sense, Implacable, Unmerciful, without natural Affection: So ye proceeded with the Inhabitants, as with the Strangers, and more cruelly too, neither regarding Age nor Sex, neither the Hoary head, nor him that stoopeth for Age; Neither Child nor Old woman; Neither Infant of Days, nor the Man of Riper Years; Neither a Man and his House, nor a Man and his Heritage; Neither Many Men and their Houses, nor Many Men and their Heritages, Wives, Children, Families, Relations, Estates, Goods, Lands, Persons, Beings; as I shall set in Order before you by and by, (though therein You are silent) and the Righteous Judgments of God, who will not spare you for your Iniquities, and Hard-heartedness to the Poor; Neither will His Eye pity You, nor will He spare You; But the Reward of your Hands shall be given ye, and the Fruit of your Doings; Because ye spared not, neither have had Mercy: And this the Lord will fulfill, whose

VVord it is, who is a *God of Faithfulness and Truth*: *Blessed* are all they who put *their Trust in Him*.

Law. Southick - And here *Cassandra Southick* and *Lawrence* her Husband (an *Aged, Grave Couple, Inhabitants of Salem, and Members of your Church*) come to be considered; Who, because they *Entertained the Two Strangers* aforesaid, (*viz.*) *Christopher Holder* and *John Copeland* (who are required to *Entertain Strangers, Forget not to do it, saith the Apostle to the Church of Christ*; for thereby *some* have *Enterrained Angels*) were committed to *Prison*, and sent to *Boston* (*your Metropolis of Blood*) where *Lawrence* ye released, to be dealt withal by *them* who reputed *him* of their *Congregation*; but *Cassandra* ye kept *Seven weeks* a Prisoner, and then fined her *Forty shillings* for owning a *Paper*, written by the *Strangers* aforesaid, in reference to *Truth* and the *Scriptures* (what *Blasphemers* are ye, who persecute for *this*?) which your Governor put to her wherewithal to Ensnare her, and to bring her under your *Law*, who had none before, after ye had detained her as aforesaid; and which she Owning (for that she could not deny, unless she had denyed the *Truth*) ye fined her as aforesaid; though even that *Law* by which Ye fined her, fineth only for *Heretical Papers*, which *this* was not, nor proved ye it so to be.

Richard Dowdney.

Richard Dowdney was the next who felt your hand, upon whom there being a *Necessay* laid from the *Lord* to come from *England* to you, Ye apprehended at *Dedham*, and brought to *Boston*, where he never was before, nor in that Country, and having given him *Thirty stripes at Once*, with such a *Whip* as aforesaid, and laid it on with as much Cruelty as the former, and searched for his *Papers* and *Books*, and took from him what Ye would (all which in the space of *Three hours* after his Coming to Town, to the wounding of the hearts of many who heard and saw so *Innocent a Man* so *inhumanely* abused) Ye continued him *Twenty Dayes* a Prisoner, and then sent Him away with the *Four* former, after ye had threatned him and them with the loss of their Ears, if they came there again, *viz.* into your Jurisdiction; Which leads me to the next step of your Proceedings, mentioned in your Declaration; *viz.* the Cutting off Ears — was increased (to wit, the Penalty) by the loss of the Ears of those that offended the second time — The Whole runs thus, — And the Penalty in-
flicted

flitied proving insufficient to restrain their Impudent and Insolent Obtrusions was increased by the loss of the Ears of those that offended the second time —

Answer.

Before I come to the particular Execution of this Increase of your Cruelty, I must necessarily turn aside to shew the Reader the Effect of the former upon the Inhabitants, and what it produced as to them, and your Proceedings thereupon.

These Your Violent and Bloody Proceedings so affected the Inhabitants of Salem, and so preached unto them, that divers of them could no longer Eat of your Sacrifices of Blood, nor partake with you who mingled Blood with your Sacrifices, but chusing rather Peace with God in their Consciences, whose Witness in them testified against such Worshipps, than to Joyn with You, whatsoever they might therefore suffer, withdrew from Your Publick Assemblies, and met together by themselves on the first Dayes of the Week quiet and peaceable in One anothers houses, waiting on the Lord.

This Ye soon found out (for it could not be long hid) and it grieved You sore, and William Hathorn (One of your Commissioners) having information thereof, sent forth his Warrants to bring in all before him, who were taken together, the next Morning; before whom being brought, he read unto them an Old Law, made in 1646. to Convict them which should absent from their Publick Meetings, after the Rate of Five shillings a Week (now the Bishops was but Twelve pence in the Dayes of Queen Elizabeth) with which Ye Convicted them (a Practice never used by Christ nor His Apostles, nor by the Jews of Old) which yet satisfied him not, but this Capt. Hathorne sent for them again, and asked them Ensnaring Questions concerning the Sufficiency of the Light which convinced of Sin, and had the Clerk of the Court to write what they said; which Light that convinced of Sin being the Light of Christ, which Enlighteneth every Man that cometh into the World; who saith, — I am the Light of the World — and John — That that is the true Light that lighteth Every Man that cometh into the World; In whom was Light, and the Light was the Light of Men: They owning it to be that which was (as it is) to be minded by all, He sent Three of them to You at Boston, viz. the said Lawrence Southwick and

Lawrence
Southick,
Cassandra
his Wife.
Josiah their
Son.
*3d day 12th
Mon:h, 1657.

Cassandra his Wife, and Josiah their Son, (all of a Family, to terrifie the rest) whom ye sent to your * House of Correction (as ye call it) and caused to be whipt in the coldest season of the Year with Cords, as those afore, though two of them were aged People; and having kept them Eleven dayes in Prison, and commanded them to work for the Taylor, who had Families of their own, and business to attend upon, from which ye detained them, and caused them to work for another, under the Penalty of your Law, as if they were Rogues or Vagabonds, and such as would not work nor have regard to their Families, but wander up and down to beg and steal, as is the Law of England, and as it provides; and then set them at Liberty, nothing in a Legal way: For, as for the Informations, the said Hathorne sent them in a Private way (as his manner was) sealed up to Your Governor, which he produceth not. Nevertheless with this the said Hathorne was not satisfied, but being filled with Cruelty and Bloud, sent forth his Warrants, and caused several of the Beasts of the said Lawrence and Josiah to be distrained, to the Value of Four pounds Thirteen shillings, that is to say, for Six weeks absence of the said Lawrence and Cassandra, Three pounds Six shillings, and the rest for Josiah their Son, being Two young Beasts, and a fat Hogg.

Edw. Harnet
and his Wife.

Another aged
Family.

Neither with this was the said Hathorne satisfied, nor with the Departure of some out of that Jurisdiction, because of your Cruelty; but one Edward Harnet (aged about Sixty nine years, and his Wife Seventy three) and another aged Family, he caused Thirty seven shillings to be taken, for not coming to your Meetings, though they were Low in the Outward, and had more need to have been ministred unto, than to be taken from.

William Shat-
tock. First
Month, 1658.

And William Shatock an Inhabitant of Boston, ye * Committed to Your House of Correction, and cruelly whipt him at his first Entrance, because he was found alone in his Own house by your Constable, on a first Day, Where ye kept him to work (which was making of Shoes) and the Taylor took his Labour from his Wif and Children; which putting him on straits to think what he should do for their Sustainance, though he could have well endured the thing as to himself, yet in regard Your Deputy Governor told his Wife (in part of whose house his Family then was) that in regard he was poor, and could not pay them

Five

Five shillings a week for not coming to *your* Meetings, *you* would continue *him* still in Prison; *he* desired to depart *your* Jurisdiction, which to do *ye* gave *him* but the *next* dayes time; and *your* said Deputy Governor endeavoured to make a Separation between *him* and his *wife*, seeking to perswade her that she should never hear of *him* more, and when *he* was gone to seek out a Place for *them* in another Jurisdiction; and that what *William* had done was to be rid of *her* and her Children (which were *Four*) and told *her*, That if *she* would disown *him*, and perswade his Children to it (a Cursed work) neither *she*, nor her Children should want: for *Two* of *them* he intended to keep himself, his son being (as *your* said Deputy said) fit to keep his sheep, whom he took from the place where the said *William* had appointed *him* to abide, lest *he* the said Deputy should make a Prey of *him*. And so *he* had but *three* dayes time to depart *your* Jurisdiction, and to provide for his Family, and to pay his Debts, and to receive them, which he was necessitated to accept, because *ye* had concluded to keep *him* still in Prison, and to take of his Children to be *your* Servants, and to make his Wife to do *your* wills, or perpetually to banish him, as *he* understood by his Wife, and had committed *him*, and ordered *him* to be severely whipt at his first Entrance, according to *Your* First Law, entituled, a Law concerning Quakers, and there to be kept, and none suffered to converse with *him* whilst he was in Prison. And this is the Justice of the Court of the Massachusetts, and the Religion towards God of *your* Deputy.

But to proceed, and to let Others see, as well as *Your* selves, what a Generation *Ye* are, and a Heap of Evil-doers, whom no Consideration will tye, nor Mean or Medium: There were about *this* time *three* of the Inhabitants of Salem going to Rhoad Island to see the Place, and to provide a Being for themselves and Families, whose Names are John Small, Josiah Southick, and John Burton; who coming to a place called Dedham, in the way thither, about *Thirty* Mites from Salem, the first Night as they were going into the Ordinary to lodge, One of the Chief Men of that Place, Capt. Lusher by name, was sent for, who examined *them* about Religion; and *your* Ministers, on Purpose to ensnare them; which *they* perceiving, and refusing to answer unto such his Questions, though they gave *him* an Account of their

John Burton.
Josiah Southick.
John Small.

their Journey, which was as much as he could reasonably expect, he told them that he would send them where they should; and so the next morning the Constable came with more Ayde, and with a Halber and Braxen headed staffe conveyed them like Murderers through the street to Boston: where your Deputy Governor reviled them (as is his usual manner to the Servants of the Lord) and told them that they should go to Prison, and to Prison they had gone had they not desired to go to the Governor, who understanding the Case did more like a man of Understanding (if he had so held) and set them free; Saying, — That they could not hinder men from Travelling on their Journeys. And yet the same Governor and Deputy Governor Signed a Warrant to levy Twelve Shillings on the said men, who were so brought back (to pay the men for the aiding them) So levying Fines to force some away, and to keep others Back; neither suffering them to Live in Quietness, or to Depart in Peace.

Sarah
Gibbens.
Dorothy
Waugh.
13th. 2d.
Moneth,
1658.

1. d. Mo-
neth. 1658.

Sarah Gibbens and Dorothy Waugh were the next on whom ye laid your Bloody cruelty; For, they coming to Boston being moved of the Lord, and being found in your Meeting Place, speaking a few Words after your Lecture was ended; Ye caused them to be had to your House of Correction, where your Jaylor (a Member of your Church) kept them Three days without food in a close Room, though they tendred Money for Provisions, not having eaten One Morsel of Bread, during all that time: Then ye sent for them to your Court, and asked them many Ensnaring Questions, to get matter against them, in which having not prevailed (for the Lord was with them) giving them a Mouth and Wisdom which ye could not resist) ye sentenc'd them to Prison to be [severely] Whipt, (Two Young Women) and not spared (such was your cruelty) which was as Cruelly executed the second day of the week following with a Thrae-fold Corded-knotted Whip, with which ye gave them Ten Lashes a piece, to the rearing of their Flesh, and beating it to pieces, and then shut them up (your usual manner) and stopp the Windows to prevent them from Ayre and all manner of Refreshment for Eight days together, so that Provisions they had not, nor could have any brought them; during that space of time after their fore Whippings, and Three daies before they were so whipt, and Perished they must, had not the Lord wonderfully kept them, beyond

beyond what *man* could have been able to undergo; as he did enable *them* to give him thanks for his presence, after they were so sorely whipt to the astonishment of the People. And the Goal-er being asked why he would not let *them* have food for their Money, and what he meant to keep *them* without food? He answered, — They should famish if they would not eat the Prison food, (which was for their Work, which they could not do in your Wills, who were not Idle persons, and who had Money of their Own, and how could they work when their Backs were torn?) And your Governor John Endicot, being asked by Sarah Gibbens (when they were had before you after the first Three days as aforesaid) Whether it were Justice or Equity, to keep them so up, and not to suffer them to have food for their money, that being the Third day they had been so kept, and had not eaten One Morsel of Bread? And further, that ye might all see that God was with *them*, that they were so preserved without food; and that they came well into the Town, as hundreds could witness, and that if they perished their Blood would fall heavy on them who were the occasion thereof. He answered, — He Matter'd, or it matters not. And when he had set them at Liberty to be sent out of the Country, Your Jaylor detained them certain days after all this for their fees, and had kept them longer, had not the Lord by another way wrought their Deliverance.

Horred Gardner is the next, who being the Mother of many Horred Children, and an Inhabitant of Newport in Rhoad Island, came with her Babe sucking at her Breast, from thence to Weymouth, (a Town in your Colony) where having finished what she had to do, and her Testimony from the Lord, unto which the Witness of God Answered in the People, she was hurried by the Baser sort to Boston before your Governour John Endicot; who after he had entertained her with much abusive Language and the Girl that came with her to help bear her Child, he committed them both to Prison, and Ordered them to be whipt (a young Woman, and a Mother with an Infant at her Breast) with Ten Lashes a piece, which was cruelly layd on their Naked bodies, with a Three-fold-knotted Whip of Cords, and then were continued for the space of Fourteen days longer in Prison from their Friends, who could not Visit them. The Woman came a very sore Journey, and (according to Man) hardly accomplishable, through

11th. 3d.
Moneth,
1658.
* Mary
Stannion.

*Sarah
Gibbens.
Dorothy
Waugh.*

through such a Wilderness of above Sixty Miles, as it is between *Rhode Island* and *Boston*; (as did *Sarah Gibbens* and *Dorothy Waugh* through the same, in Storms of Frost and Snow, wherein they lodged Night and Day, and came to *Salem*, whither to through all those hardships, and wadeings over Rivers, and Impossibilities as to Men, the Lord brought them, who moved them to go thither, and from thence to you, who cheerfully underwent it for his, and his Seeds sake, and worse from you, who had Famish'd them for want of Bread, but the Lord preserved them, and kept them from sinking under your Cruelties, and Scourgings, Praising the Lord at the Post, after their Scourgings was over, to the astonishment of the People; as he did *Horrid Gardner* and the *Girl*, as aforesaid, and the *Tender Babe*, who, through the Sufferings of its Mother, and her being kept up, after the Martyring of their bodies, might have died; but you had no Consideration of this or of them, though the Mother had of you; Who after the savage, inhumane, and bloody Execution on her of your Cruelty aforesaid, kneeled down, and Prayed — The Lord to forgive you — which so reached upon a Woman that stood by, and wrought upon her that she gave Glory to God, and said, — That surely she could not have done that thing, if it had not been by the Spirit of the Lord. —

*Thomas
Harris of
Barbadoes.*

After these comes *Thomas Harris* from *Rhode Island* into your Colony, who Declaring against your Pride and Oppression, as he could have Liberty to speak in your Meeting Place at *Boston* after the Priest had Ended, and Warning the People of the Dreadful, Terrible Day of the Lord God, which was coming upon that Town, and Countrey; Much unlike to *Niniveh*, he was Pulled down, and out of your Meeting, and a hand was put on his Mouth to keep him from speaking farther, and he haled by the hair of his head, and had before your Governor, and Deputy, and many People, with several Magistrates, and committed to Prison, without Warrant or Mirtimus, that he saw, and there shut up in a close Roome, and none suffered to come at him, nor him to have Provisions for his Money; and the next day Whipt without shewing him any Law that he had broken, though he desired it of the Goaler, with Ten Cruel Stripes with such a whip as aforesaid, to the sore cutting of his Flesh, and bruising of his Body, and then shut up again for Eleven daies more;

Five

Five of which *he* was kept without *Bread* (for your *Jaylor* would not suffer *him* to have *any* for his *Money*, and threatned *One* of the other *Prisoners* very much for bringing him a little *Water* the *Day* of his *Execution*) and all this, because he could not work for the *Jaylor*. (who had money of his own) and let *him* have *Eight Pence* in *Twelve* of what he should *Earn*; and starved he had been in all probability to *death*, had not the *Lord* kept *him* those *five* dayes, and ordered it so after their *End*, that *Food* was conveyed *him* by *Night* (by some *tender* People, who though they came not into the *Profession* of *Truth* openly, by reason of your *Cruelty*, yet felt it secretly moving in them, and so were made *serviceable* to keep the *Servants* of the *Lord* from *Perishing*, and causing their *Liberties*, who shall not go without their *Reward*) in at a *Window*. And though he was in this state of *Weakness*, for want of *Bread*, and by reason of the *torturing* of his *Body* with *Cruel Whippings* as afore-said; and though the *Day* after he was whipt the *Jaylor* had told *him*, that he had now *suffered the Law*, and that if he would *hire the Marshal* to carry *him* out of the *Country*, he might be gone when he would; yet the next *Sixth* day in the *Morning*, before the *Sixth* hour, the *Jaylor* required *him* to work at his will, which he not answering for the *Reasons* afore-said, he gave his weak and fainty *Body* *Two* and *Twenty* *Blows* with a *Pitch'd Rope*; 15th day, 5th Month, 1658. and the *Nineteenth* of the *Fifth* *Month* following, *Fifteen* *cruel* stripes more with a *Threefold-corded Whip*, knotted as afore-said.

Now upon his *Apprehension* *Your* *Governor* sought to know of *him* who came with *him* (as was *Your* usual manner) that so ye might find out the rest of the *Company*, on whom ye might execute *Your* *Cruelty* and *Wickedness*, and *Your* *Governor* said, he would make *him* do it; but his *Cruelties* could not. Nevertheless they were soon found out (who hid not themselves, but were bold in the *Lord*) viz.—*William Brend* and *William Leddra*, who coming to *Salme*, unto which they were moved of the *Lord*, and having *Conference* with a *Priest* at *Newberry*, after they had passed thence, and after that *Capt. Gerish* (sometimes of *Bristol* in *Old England*) before whom the *Conference* was, had promised the *People* that they should not suffer (for at the *Desire* of the *People* was the *Conference*) he the said *Capt. Gerish* (one

William Brend,
William Leddra

of your Commissioners) sent for them back, as they were on their way, and had them before the Court; and though the Court confessed, that they found nothing that was Evil in them (the Witness of God so far answering) yet the Court committed them (as did Pilate Him who went before them) and kept them at Salem that Night, and the next Day Prisoners, during which time they called in question several of the Inhabitants of Salem for meeting with them, (for ye had made a Law, viz. That of Cutting off Ears, as aforesaid, — That whosoever of the Inhabitants should directly or indirectly cause any of the said People to come into your Jurisdiction, he should forfeit an Hundred Pounds to the Country, and be committed to Prison there to remain till the Penalty should be satisfied, — And whosoever should Entertain them, knowing them so, should forfeit Forty shillings to the Country for every hours Entertaining or Concealment, and be committed to Prison till the Forfeiture should be fully paid and satisfied. — And further, That all and every of those People that should arise among your selves should be dealt withal, and suffer the like Punishments, as your Laws provided for those that came in, which was, That for the first Offence (or coming in) of any such who had suffered what your Law required, if a Male, One of his Ears should be cut off, and he kept at work in the House of Correction, till he could be sent away on his own Charge: For the second, The other Ear, and be kept in the House of Correction, as aforesaid. If a Woman, then to be severely whipt, and kept as aforesaid, as the Male, for the first; and for the second Offence (or coming in as aforesaid) to be dealt withal as the first: and for the third, He or she should have their Tongues bored through with a hot Iron, and be kept at the House of Correction close at work, till they be sent away on their own charge. — This is your Law, and this the Offence. Such a Law as Bonner never made for the Coming in of an Heretick (so called) into the English Jurisdiction; Nor for a Man's barely being such an One as was called an Heretick, without Conviction of Heresy, (and ye have convicted none of One Opinion, or Practice that may be called Heresy) nor *Conterbury* (for you) did say during the time of the Detaining of the said *W. Friend* and *M. Seiders*, they called before them several of the Inhabitants of Salem for meeting with those aforesaid, and six of them, viz. *Lawrence Southick* and *J. Shua Buffum*. *Cassandra* his Wife, and *Josiah* their Son aforesaid (whom *N. Sam. Gaskin* whipt

Law. Southick
Cassandra his
Wife
Josiah their Son
Sam. Shua took
J. Shua Buffum
Sam. Gaskin

whipt as aforesaid, and imprison'd and fined) and Samuel Shattock (whom ye also had before Imprisoned) and Joshua Buffum and Samuel Gaskin, they sent with W. Brend and W. Leddra to you at Boston, where your Jaylor * received them about Six of the Clock in the Evening, and shut them up apart, and in Rooms which he had provided on purpose to make them (as he said) bow to your Law; and stopp'd up the Windows, so, as he left not a hole for Convenient Air, and all wayes of Conveyances for Air and Diet, which he kept from them (except such as he laid before them, as a little Pottage and a Piece of Bread, for which he would have made them work, if they had eaten, as he threatned, but Money he would not take, and work for Meat in his will they could not, so they did not eat) and suffered none to come at them, and continued them so from the sixth day of the former week, to the fourth day of the week following, the second day of which, though they had no Food from the time aforesaid, yet he called them down to be whipt, and to whom was given (whilst they were in that state of weakness of Body) and to Samuel Shattock, Joshua Buffum, Samuel Gaskin, and Cassandra Southick (for being a Woman ye could not have her Ear by your Law, though ye whipt her) Ten stripes a piece, with a knotted, threefold-corded Whip, with the Cruelty as aforesaid, upon the account of your former Law, as being such as were called Quakers, and as owning such (the other Two Inhabitants, viz. Lawrence Southick and Josiah his Son, ye reserved for the loss of their Ears, though therein ye mist too, for Your Law was for such as came into your Jurisdiction, but they were of it, and so could not be said to come into it) and having whipped them, your Jaylor lock'd * them in a close Room (being dark) and without Air, in the hot Summer season, which was the Room he prepar'd to burn, alias, to destroy them, for so his Carriage manifesteth in keeping them up there, and from Food, and whipping them so, and locking them up again in the same place, and there keeping them till the fourth day following from Food or Friend (enough reasonably to have smothered them) Then He told them they were clear, paying their Fees (who owed him none) and hiring the Marshal to Convey them out of the Country (which they could not do in Obedience to the Lord who sent them thither, or as English men in their own Country) so he kept them close Prisoners,

*ad day, 5th
Month, 1658.

Will. Brend.

Will. Leddra

Samuel

Shattock,

Sam. Gaskin

Josh. Buffum

Cassandra

Southick,

Law. Southick

Josiah his Son.

William Brend.

William Leddra

*William
Brend.*

and the next morning the Jaylor put William Brend (a Man of Tears) into Irons, Neck and Heels lockt so close together, as there was no more room between each than for the Horse-Lock that fastned them on ; and so kept him in Irons for the space of sixteen hours (as himself (viz.) the Jaylor confessed) for not working as he said ; and all this, whilst without meat, and whilst his back was torn with the whipping the day before, as aforesaid ; which did not satisfie your Bloud-thirsty Jaylor (not all these Cruel Usages, which were a few of them, Enough (according to Men) to have dispatch'd him) But as a Man resolv'd to have his Life, and by Cruelties to kill him, he had him down againe the next Morning to work, who had been so many dayes without Meat, whose Back was so beat, whose Neck and Heels were laid so long together, and because he could not bow to his will, he laid him on with a Pitch'd Rope Twenty blows over his Back and Arms, with as much force as he could drive ; so that with the fierceness of the Blows the Rope untwisted, and his Arms were swoln with it, being so cruelly whipt but Two dayes before, and lock'd up ; presently after this Your Jaylor having either mended his Old, or got a New Rope, came in again, and having halld him down stairs with greater fury and Violence than before, gave his broken, bruised and weak Body (which had received no Sustenance for Five dayes before, and was whipt and beaten, and lock'd as aforesaid, Fourscore and Seventeen Blows more, foaming at the Mouth like a Mad-man, and tormented with Rage, unto which great number he had added more, had not his strength and Rope failed him, for now he cared not what he did do ; And all this, because he did not work for him, which he could not do for a World, being Unable in body, and unfree in mind ; So he gave him in all One Hundred and Seventeen Blows with a Pitch'd Rope, after the manner and with the violence as aforesaid, so that his flesh was beaten black, and as into a Jelly, and under his Arms the bruised flesh and bloud hung down, clouded as it were in baggs, and so into One was it beaten, that the sign of a Particular Blow could not be seen ; Yet your Cruel Jaylor threatned to give him as many more the next Morning, and his Friend William Leddra with him, and as he went away, lock'd them up in a close Room again, and then went to his Morning Sacrifice with his hands thus defiled with Blood : But William

Brend

Brend having been without Food for Five dayes together, and having been so cruelly whipt, and lockt and beaten, and in a close Room without Bed or Food, or Sustenance, soon fainted away, lying upon the Boards with his eare, bruised, weary, faint, broken Body (bowed indeed (by all this Extremity of Cruelty) in his Body by your Cruel Law, but his Life was free) Whereupon a Cry was made, and the Prison doors were thrown Open, and all Means used to save his Life, if possible, and your Governor sent his Son and his Chyrurgeon to see what might be done (such fear was fallen upon you, lest *Ye* should suffer for his Blood) who thought it impossible (according unto Men that he should live, but that his Flesh would rot from off his Bones ere the bruised Flesh could be brought to digest (this was the Judgment of your Governors Chyrurgeon) and such a Cry was made by the People that came in to see him, that *Ye* were constrained for the satisfaction of them (for, as for your particulars it will appear by and by how you were; and how far, in Order to, and One with this thing) to set up a Paper at your Meeting-house-Door, and up and down the Streets, that the *Taylor* should be dealt withal the next Court; but it was soon taken down again upon the Instigation of John Norton (your High-Priest) unto whom, as the Fountain or Principal; most of the Cruelty and Bloodsheds herein rehearsed, is to be imputed;) it was taken down again, and the *Taylor* let alone; For, said the said John Norton (but how cruelly let the *Sober* judge) — *W. Brend* endeavoured to beat Our Gospel-Ordinances (what Ordinances are they that can be so beaten, seeing the Ordinances of the Gospel are like those of Heaven, which cannot be broken, yet he lyed in the thing, for he came not so to beat them) Black and Blue; if he was beaten Black and Blue (and even unto Death as aforesaid; And where-ever did the true Ministers of the Gospel of Jesus Christ ever exercise such weapons, or seek to uphold the things of His Kingdom with the Weapons of this World, whereby the things of this World are sought to be upholden, whose Kingdom is Spiritual?) It was Just upon him (see how he appears in his Colours) and he would appear in his behalf. — But the Lord appeared (when nothing else could) wonderfully to raise up this His Servant, and to heal his Body beyond Expectation; and *Ye* appeared (when *ye* could do nothing else) to justify the Action; which when Bloud was like

John Norton did, and so it was, and so it was, and so it was, and so it was, to

to lie upon you, ye would have cast upon the *Jaylor*, who did but execute your Wills; But now Life appearing in *William*, ye rose likewise and ordered (*viz.* your Governor and Deputy Governor, and *Rawson* your Secretary, a chief *Instigator* of all this Cruelty) — That the *Quakers* (by which name you reviled them) in Prison be whipped twice a week, if they refused to work, (whom ye had used as aforeaid;) and the first time to add five stripes to the former (which were Ten, and now were made up Fifteen) and each time to add Three to them (that is, to the Fifteen, and so forwards, as the Stripes should be increased thus by the times of whipping) — Which Order ye sent to the *Jaylor* (as a Salve for his Sore, and a Box of Balsom for his *Wound*, and to strengthen his hands to do more cruelly again, whom the fright of the other had so weakened) and which he executed, as by and by will appeare. And because the *Jaylor* was under the Censure (and that justly) of the People for his Cruelty on *William Brend* (which he did in madness and heat of spirit, being a very passionate and hasty spirited man) Ye in cool Blood, and after all this Cruelty, and the noise thereof, and the Proclaiming by your Papers, when you were afraid *William* would not have lived again, Ordered, That each time he should warn Two Constables of that Town to see the Execution; which he read to them the 7th day of the week, and told them it should be executed on the second day of the week following, and which on the second day he Executed accordingly with much Cruelty on the Strangers, *viz.* on *Humphry Norton* and *John Rouse* (who by that time were had there, as by and by I shal shew) and *William Laddra* (of *Barbados* aforeaid) and *Thomas Harris* of *Barbados*, of whom I have spoken) with Fifteen cruel Lashes a piece, laid on at Once with the Threefold-gorded Whip as aforeaid, so adding Five to the First Number of Ten as aforeaid; Which Bloody Cruelty so moved the Inhabitants of *Boston*, and so affected them to see New stripes (and the addition of Three each time to be made) on the Old sores (much unlike the Mercy of the Dogs to *Lazarus*, who licked his sores, not made more) And some of the Old sores were upon them when they came to be whipt the second time, who were whipt a fortnight before) I say, it so affected them, that they paid the Charge required for them (which was about Six or Seven pounds) as they usually did, as to all that were in Prison, that they might be set free. But as for You, This you added and

*Humphry
Norton.
John Rouse.
Will. Laddra
Tho. Harris.*

and did, that it might be made appear (and the hand of the Lord was in it to suffer it to be so) how *One ye were wish*, and approved of the *Jaylor's* Deedy, though because of the *Cry of the People*, and the fear of *Bloud*, ye seemed to the contrary. This is another Experiment of the *Penalty* inflicted, which ye say, proved *insufficient*. But as for the *Inhabitants* then in Prison, (upon whom *Ye* made this Law, as on *Strangers* without Distinction, and this after they were Prisoners both *Strangers* and *Inhabitants*, and executed it on the *Strangers*, though made after they were Prisoners, and notwithstanding they sene you a *Paper*, wherein they declared, That they could not work for You, or hire *Conduct* (the things for which ye detained them in Prison; for they had suffered your Law before for Coming into the Country, which ye made them more cruelly to suffer for, than for the *Breach* of your Law) for that it was against their *Consciences*, having not broken or transgressed any Law of God, or wholsom Law of the *English Nation*) I say to the *Inhabitants*, though they made ready their *Backs* for the *Post*, and were putting off their *Cloaths* to receive the like as their *Brethren*, ye did nothing.

And now, as to them, viz. *Samuel Shattuck*, *Lawrence Sout*, *Sam. Shattuck*, *Cassandra* his Wife, *Josiah* their Son, *Samuel Gaskin*, *tock*, and *Joshuah Buffum* (whom I have been constrained promise- *Lawrence* only to touch at, because they have been intermixed with *Sourhick*, Others in their Sufferings.) They were at a Meeting, with as *Cassandra* his many more of their *Neighbours* and *Friends* as made up *Two* Wife, *or upwards*, at *Nicholas Philips* his house, a little off *Salem* *Josiah* their (about *Five Miles*) in the Woods, with the said *Two Friends*, *Son*, *William Brend* and *William Leddra*, waiting on the Lord; Unto *Josiah* which one *Baxter* (a bloody man, and a Commissioner of your own) came, and a *Constable* with him, and required them to assist the *Constable* (a most *Unreasonable Demand*; those two being their *Friends*, and they all in the same Condition, had he had power so to demand them) which they refusing (he having neither a *Warrant*, nor a *Constables* staff of Office) he went his way after the using of some *Violence* to the *Strangers*, But the next week, the Court sitting, he gave their *Names* into the Court, and caused them to be Apprehended for so small a Matter, and kept them in Prison in a *Neighbours house* *Two* dayes

dayes from their Own, till the ~~last~~ end of their Session, and then had the ~~same~~ before them, and accused them, for being from their Publick Meetings; and at a Meeting by themselves, and with their Enemies (so they accounted the Servants of the Lord, who came in Love to them, as being moved of the Lord) and their great business was to prove them such as are called Quakers. It was demanded by one of them, How they might know a Quaker? Simon Broadstreet (one of the Magistrates) answered, Thou art One for coming in with thy Hat on. He replied, — It was a Horrible thing to make such Cruel Laws, to whip, and cut off Ears, and burn through the Tongue, for not putting off the Hat — Then they charged them with Blasphemy, and said, That they held forth Blasphemies at their Meetings — One of them desired them to make any such thing to appear, if it were so, and that they might be convinced; and told them, they might do well to send some to their Meetings, that they might hear, and give account of what was done and spoken, and not conclude of a thing they knew not. Said Major General Denison (of whose Cruelty I have much to say in this Relation) — If ye meet together and say any thing, We may conclude that ye speak Blasphemy; (a bad Speech from a Judge, whose Place is not to accuse any either truly or falsely, much less to draw Unrighteous Conclusions from his own spirit, and then to prosecute them without Law or Equity, as hath been this Denison's manner, and of Others so to do; but to judge according as Witness doth present, Secundum Allegata & Probata — according to the Things alleged and proved, as is the Law of England.) So to Prison they were had, and the next morning sent away to Boston (viz. those Six as aforesaid that were Inhabitants, and the said Two Strangers) as Felons and Murderers, and there put into the House of Correction, apart from the Two Strangers, whom the Jaylor had put into the Common Jail, and in a close Room provided on purpose to ~~bow~~ them, as aforesaid, that they might not come together; and this in the heat of Summer, from their Husbandry and Tillage, which it was the season of the year for them to follow. The Warrant bore Date, July 1. 1658.

July 1. 1658.

And indeed, these Cruel Proceedings so sunk down into the hearts of many of Salem, that they withdrew more and more from your Publick Meetings, though they knew they should suffer, upon

upon which the *Court* then entred *them* into *Pay*, at *Five Shillings* a Week, each that obtained by an *Old Law* made in 1646. as aforesaid, which *they* cruelly Extorted, as *they* did the other *Fines* of *Forty shillings* each hours entertaining of such a one as *ye* call a *Quaker*, and *Ten shillings* a time for being at *Meetings* of their *Own*, with the rest of the *Penalties* as *Occasion* presented; yea, even from the *Women* whose *Husbands* came to *your Meetings*, to the Value of *some Scores* of *Pounds* from *first* to *last*, on the *Poor Inhabitants* of *Salem*, whose *Cattel* *ye* let *them* keep all the *hard Winter*, till the *Spring*, that so *they* might consume their own *Fodder*, and then took *them*; with other *Acts* of *Cruelty* too long to mention. So that what by *long* and *sore* *Imprisonments* from their *Houfes* and *Callings*, and *Business*, and *Relations*, in the heat of *Summer* and the cold of *Winter*; and *Cruel Whippings*, and *Beatings*, and *Fines*, and *Amercements*, and *Searchings*, and *Huntings*, and such like, (as I shall shew more particularly by and by, *Their Lives* (as to men) became worse than *Death*, and as *Living Burials*, though *they* thought not any thing too much, nor *their Lives* too dear (as anon will be made manifest) for the *Truth*, and the *Testimony* of it.

The next day after *W. Brend* was so used, and layd for dead, *Humphery Humphry Norton* (on whom the sence of *Blood* lay much, and the *Norton*. *Weight* thereof pressed him sore for several days, and cried in *John Rons*. him, so that he travailed *Night* and *Day* with his Friend *John Rons*) came to *Boston*, where, in *your Meeting House*, on *your Lecture day*, (notwithstanding the *Cry* of the *Town* of *your Cruelty* and *Blood*, and the speaking of some to the said *Humphry*, that if he loved his life, he should depart the *Town*, for otherwise he was but a *Dead man*, *they* having been looking for him some *Moneths*, which could not hinder *them*, nor all the *World*, such was the sence and weight upon them) *they* appeared, and having heard the *Earth* speaking, and the *Grave* uttering her voice, and *Death* feeding *Death*, through your *Painted Sepulchre* *John Norton*, *Humphry Norton*, stood up and said, (after the other had ended) *Verily this is the Sacrifice which the Lord God accepts not, for whilst with the same Spirit that ye sin, ye Preach and Pray, and Sing, that Sacrifice is an Abomination to the Lord*—Whereupon (yea before he had spoke out all these words, but all these words he spake) he was haled down, and both of them

*Appeal to
England de-
nied in open
Court.*

had out, and in the same fury had before ye, and *H. Norton* ye charged with *Blasphemy* for those words he had spoken. They spake to you to Act according to the *Law of God, or the Whole-some Laws of the English Nation, and spare them not.* But neither of these ye would come nigh. Then they Appealed to England, and to the chief Magistrate there, or whom he should appoint, to whom they said they would freely refer their Case, which they did once and again, thereby to leave you without excuse; but neither would ye yeild to this, but slighted and disregarded such their Appeal; Your Governour and Deputy Governour with one lip saying, — *No Appeal to England, No Appeal to England* — with other words of Dirision; and forthwith sentenced them to be whipt, though charged with *Blasphemy*, and to *John Rous* ye gave smooth words, seeking to ensnare him because of Your knowledge of his Father, *Lieutenant Colonel Rous of Barbadaes*, who formerly lived amongst Ye, of whom some of You then spake; but he knowing Your Deceit and Wickedness, and Cruel usuage of the Innocent, and seeking by close Rooms, and Denial of Food for several days together to Consume and strangle them, he required in the audience of the People, convenient Food for their money, Or, otherwise if they perished, their Blood would be upon you. This ye could not well deny before the People, who had heard of much of Your Cruelty in this kind, and who were likely to have risen up against Ye should Ye have denied it; so Ye granted this, when Ye could not help it, to the breaking of Your Law, but the seventh day of the week following (this being the fifth) Ye broke their Bodies (in Revenge thereof) with Ten Cruel stripes a piece, according to Your wonted Cruelty, and then tendred them to depart if they would hire a Convoy, which they not doing (for as to the Lord they could not, who moved them thither) Ye detained them there the week following, and then whipt them Fifteen stripes Each with the same Cruelty as before, by vertua of the Law aforesaid, of Five to be added to the Ten; and to the Five, Three, each time they should be whipt, and to be whipt twice a Week, upon their old sores, with the rest of their Brethren, of which I have spoken.

Now about Three Weeks after the said Court at *Salem*, the Court sate again, at which several of the *Inhabitants* were presented for not coming to Meetings, and the Law read for Five
Shillings

shillings a Week for *them* as should refuse, each to pay for not Comming, and *many* were *listed* under that *Pay*, which *ye* Exacted when *ye* pleased ; but as for the *Six* aforesaid, *they* were continued still in *your* Prison at *Boston*, and no Course taken for *their* Release ; neither was it so much as offered *them* (upon the *Suffering* of *your* Law) to go home, *paying* the *Fees*, as *ye* used to do to the *Strangers*, which Occasioned a *Paper* to be sent by *them* to the *Courts* in *these* Words.

This to the Magistrates at Court in *Salem*.

Friends,

WHereas it was your Pleasures to Commit us, whose Names are underwritten, to the House of Correction in *Boston*, although the Lord the Righteous Judge of Heaven and Earth is our Witness, that we had done nothing worthy of Stripes or of Bonds ; and we being Committed by Court to be dealt withall as the Law provides for Forreign Quakers, as ye please to tearm us, and having, some of us, suffered your Law and Pleasures, now that which we do expect is, that whereas we have suffered your Law, so now to be set free by the same Law, as your manner is with strangers, and not to put us in upon the account of one Law, and Execute another Law upon us, of which according to your own manner, we were never convicted as the Law expresses ; If you had sent us upon the account of your new Law, we should have expected the Goalers Order to have been on that account, which that it was not appears, by the Warrant which we have, and the Punishment which we bare, as four of us were Whipt, among whom was One that had formerly been Whipt, so now also according to your former Law. Friends, Let it not be a small thing in your Eyes, the exposing, as much as in you lies, our families to Ruine. It's not unknown

to you the Season, and the time of the Year for those that live of Husbandry, and what their Cattle, and Families may be exposed unto, and also such as live on Trade: We know if the Spirit of Christ did dwell and rule in you, these things would take impression on your spirits. What our lives and conversations have been in that Place, is well known, and what we now suffer for, is much for false Reports, and ungrounded Jealousies of Heresie and Sedition. These things lie upon us to lay before you: As for our parts, we have true Peace and Rest in the Lord in all our Sufferings, and are made willing in the Power and Strength of God, freely to offer up our Lives in this Cause of God, for which we suffer: Yea and we do find (through Grace) the Enlargements of God in our Imprisoned state, to whom alone we Commit our selves and families, for the disposing of us according to His Infinite Wisdom and Pleasure, in whose Love is Our Rest and Life.

From the House of Bondage in Boston,
wherein we are made Captives by
the Wills of Men, although made
Free by the Son, John 8. 36. In
which we quietly rest, this 16th. of
the 5th. Moneth, 1658.

Lawrence }
Cassandra } Southick
Josiah }
Samuel Shattock
Joshua Buffum.

Hereupon the Court sent to release Two (for Samuel Gaskin he was released before, by reason of the working of his Friends) but the other Three ye detained in Order to a second Punishment upon account of a Later Law, although they were all Committed upon a Former, that is to say, Three of them on the First, and Three of them on a Second. Now those that ye detained, ye kept upon an Account of a Third Law, made whilst they were in Prison, which they had not transgress'd, for they were in Prison whilst it was made as aforesaid. And yet ye continued them about Twenty weeks from their Families and Employments the chief of the year, as minding to destroy them; whose Names are Lawrence Southick, Cassandra Southick, and Josiah their Son.

Lawrence
Cassandra
&c. Josiah,
Southick,

Nor did these things satisfie You, nor the Cruelties ye did Exercise on the Innocent; but as Men given up to a Reprobate sense, to commit Iniquity with greediness; The more Blood ye drew, the more ye thirsted after Blood, and the more Cruelty ye Exercised, the more ye delighted to Exercise Cruelty; as is usual with men in such Cases, who are given over to a Reprobate sense to Commit Iniquity with greediness, and whose hearts are hardened from the fear of the Lord, and estranged from him, as the Sequel manifests.

For, Nicholas Phelps of or near Salem, being One of those who were Presented to the Court for not Coming to your Meetings, and Entered upon Pay at Five shillings a week, hearing at the Court some of them say, That they (viz. the People called Quakers) denied Magistrates and Ministers, gave them a Paper to shew the Contrary; Which the Court asked of him Whether he would Owne? He Answered Yea; Then they fined him Forty shillings (a strange Penalty for the Owning of that which they had charged him and those People to Deny) (and Forty shillings for the Meeting of those People at his House, and sent him to Ipswitch Goal, as (One called) a Quaker, because he put not off his Hat. Where he was Cruelly whipt at his first Entrance (though he was a Weak man, and One whose Back was Crooked) which yet drew no Compassion; but in the space of Five dayes he was Whipt Three times with Ten or twelve strokes each time, with a Threesfold Corded Whip with Knots, because he did not Work, whom they took from his Husbandry, his Hay

Nicholas
Phelps.

and

and his Corn, after which it was the season of the Year to look, he Occupying a Farm, which suffered in his absence, and yet they whip him for not marking, and drove it on with a Three Corded knotted Whip, as aforesaid, and detain'd him there from his Work. And in this Cruelty Daniel Denison your M. General aforesaid; bore the Greatest Sway, and was the Chief Execution; Yet all their Cruelty could not bend his Spirit whom the Lord upheld, who bowed unto him, but not unto them, but his bowed Back bore it all; and Overcame. So that on a certain day One that had been an acquaintance of his came and had him out of Prison to his House, and after a while got him to walk out into the Field, where his said acquaintance told him he thought he would be set at Liberty ere long, but which way it would be accomplished Nicholas could not tell, for to Work at their Wills that he could not, &c had suffered for it. So after a while the man fell to work about a stone Wall, and maeing with a stone he could not lift, Nicholas friendly helped him, which was the Pittiful shift then used to set him at Liberty, as doing Work, and this was the Work, the helping of this his Friend up with a stone (the Design, no doubt, laid for the accomplishing of this thing) as his Friends speaking intimated, but did not at all answer your Law; Nor such manner of Work as it required; Because he could not do which, Ye cut his Body with Cruel stripes as aforesaid; During which and his long Imprisonment, he was constrained to hire men about his own Harvest, from which ye took him. Simon Broadstreet and William Harborn, aforesaid, were assistants to Denison in these Executions: Whose Names I Record to Rot and Stink (as of you all) to all Generations, unto whom this shall be left as a Perpetual Record of Your Everlasting Shame, as they shall not escape (nor shall you) the Righteous Judgement of the Lord for this, and their (and your) other Cruelties and Sheddings of the Blood of the Innocent. And when the Judgements of the Lord shall be made manifest upon you, This shall Remain as a Witness for the Lord, and that He hath not without Cause brought these things on you, who will be glorified on you when his Judgements are made manifest; The mouth of the Lord of Hosts hath spoken it, who will do it, and the time is near for all they that trust in him.

After this, the People ye wor of were more Joyned together and

and confirmed by *your Cruelty*, for it returned as a Testimony to *them* who suffered, that they were of God, and so they met together at *Salem*, waiting upon the Lord, whose Presence there with them was more precious than *Life*; Therefore they laid down *Life*, and *their All*, to enjoy His Presence, who hath been better to *them* than *Life*, and made up all *their* Loss and Sufferings with that which is *Eternal*; and His Peace hath been more to *them*, than *your* Trouble; Yea, in the midst of *their* Sufferings hath He made them more than Conquerors through Him who loved *them*, and gave himself for *them*, who have given up to Him: Therefore it is that they gave *their Backs* to the Smelters, and *their Cheeks* to the Nippers and the Pullers off of the Hair, and endured what hath been, and shall be express. And though they knew *your Cruelty*, and tasted thereof, and were upon your Roll for not being at your Meeting, and knew *your* Fines for having Meetings of their Own, and *your* other Fines, and how ye had and would Exact them; Yet they feared not your fears, neither were they afraid of your Threats, but sanctified the Lord God of Hosts in *their hearts*, and made Him *their Fear*, and made Him *their Dread*; who became a little Sanctuary unto *them*, and kept *them* in the midst of all, and was good unto *them*; who never faileth *them* that put their Trust in Him.

So meet they did, and ye pursued *them*, and Capt. Hathorne was a chief, who, like a Dog called the Bloodhound, never left scenting after *them*, till he found them out, and had his will on *them* in Person and Estate; whom once he tended as his good Friends (as they were) when he sought not the Bread of a Magistrate, but now to have it, when otherways he saw none, he turned against *them* and became *their* Enemy; and the Constable of the Town of *Salem* was the next who made such search, and was so eager in it, that he took an Ax and broke open the Door of a House wherein they were met (who might have had it opened if he would have staid) and took their Names, and sent them in (by the Advice of the said Hathorne, as the said Samuel Constable said) to the Court at Ipswich, which sat shortly after, Shattock, whereunto Four of them were summoned (for it was not usual Nicholas with them to deal with too many at once, lest the People should Phelps take notice) and three of those whom the Constable so brought, Joshua viz. Samuel Shattock, Nicholas Phelps and Joshua Buffum (for Buffum, the

Anne
Needham.

the fourth, viz. Anne Needham, she was in Childbed, and could not be brought) the Court kept much ado, especially about their Hats (that being the only Character ye could make of such a One as ye called a Quaker, and upon which you proceeded, for other ye proved none) They waited for their Charge to know what it was, and wheretore they were sent for thither; and it was for not coming to your Meetings, and for meeting by themselves, contrary to your Law. And Simon Broadstreet put Questions to them about the Trinity, and Christ's Body, &c. They were glad of this Opportunity to clear themselves before the People (for those of them who were sent to Boston (viz. those of the Six aforesaid) knew not for what it was, yet thither were they sent, and there were they whipt and detained as aforesaid, since which time they had not Opportunity to speak with those that sent them. Who punish'd them by a Law made against a cursed Sect of Hereticks. (as the Law expresses them) that speak and write Blasphemous Opinions; whose Doctrines (as it saith) are Diabolical, &c. When as no such thing was proved against them; Nor were they tried upon one Question thereabouts, but did deny such People as the Law expresses, or that they were such a People. And this they judged to be very hard, and to be wrong dealing with them, That under colour of a Law they should be proceeded with, contrary to, and against all Law. — Answer was made, That they appeared so by their Hats and Company, and that they might appeal— (now they knew well enough that themselves should be of the Court of Appeal, which was to You) So They appealed— You must do it by Petition (said the Court)— which they could not, but Justice they desired, and no Mercy, according to their Law; and so spake, and required them again to Prove them to be such as the Law expresses. — The Hat was brought up again— Then let it be Recorded so, said they, That we have been thus punished for not putting off the Hat:— But this the Court would not. — Still they required Evidence to prove them such Blasphemers, Hereticks, and holding such Diabolical Doctrines; or, of being such a Cursed Sect as the Law speaks, by which they were punished. — Brend said so and so, (said the Court) and that they did own it. — None of us heard it (said they) for none of us were there. (yet W. Brend said nothing to them, but what was savory and Truth, and if he had, he

he should have heard of it, and they would have produced it, no doubt, to satisfy the People, who were so troubled about his Suffering ; but as to the *absent*, men may say any thing, and they were so kept in the *Wisdom* of God as not to heed it, and to give them (and it was reasonable enough, and turn'd a *Lie* upon them, *viz.* In saying they owned what he said, when none of them were there ; and they were bold enough in it, thus to put it in charge to the Mens faces who witnessed against them) No other Answer. — Then the Court put Questions to them, whereby to clear themselves, and Daniel Denison was Chief in it.

—Evidence (said the Prisoners) Produce your Evidence : We desire nothing but a fair Tryal, the Priviledges of Men ; We are not afraid nor ashamed to declare what we hold, whether before the Court or elsewhere, and offered it before all the People ; But first (said they) we desire to have a fair Tryal before a Jury of Twelve Men, according to Law, by Proof and Evidence as to what ye have done to us ; till which We shall not answer ; It being an *Unreasonable* thing (said they) for the Magistrates to be both Accuser and Judge. So (said they) Ye may accuse us of Sodomy, and Murder, or any other Crime, and execute your Law causlessly upon us. — But this the Court denyed (contrary to the Law of England, and in the express breach of *Magna Charta*, and of Your Charter) and instead of proving any thing against them, or producing any thing in order thereunto (except some Questions to gain something out of their own Mouths wherewithal to accuse them, which they answered not) They were sentenc'd to pay Each of them Ten shillings apiece, for being at Meetings by themselves, and Five shillings each for not being at Yours ; that is to say, Samuel Shattock and Nicholas Phelps, for being at Two such Meetings, and absent twice from Yours, Thirty shillings apiece ; and Joshua Buffum for Once of each, Fifteen shillings ; and for being Quakers (as they said, but proved them not so, that is to say, such as the Law makes so, and qualifies) to the House of Correction to answer the Law (Who were not proved to have transgressed it, and were denyed a Tryal, when they demanded it as aforesaid, according to the Law of England and the Country ; and yet now were made to suffer as Breakers of that Law, as they were before ; such monstrous Illegallity, and Great Injustice was never heard of)

A Tryal of 12. men, according to the Law of England, and of that Country, when demanded, denyed.

And *Daniel Denison* told *them*, in scoffing sort (after all these Punishments, and what they had suffered before, unto which they were sentenc'd and *thus* illegally too) *that they had left off being Doctors of Divinity, and were turned Lawyers, (when they spake in their Own Case like Men of Understanding.)* Thus making a *Mock* of their Sufferings; for which *he* will have his Reward. But more speech they were denied, after the Sentence was past (without a *Trial*, and with the Denying of it) which the *Court* rose up to consider of, and then sat down, and Gave. Only, *they* had the Liberty so much to say, as to bid the *People* take notice, That *they* could not have *Justice*— And so *they* were had to *Prison* upon account of *your* Third Law, and there dealt with contrary to Law, by receiving *Ten* strokes a-piece at *One* time with a *knotted-Cord-Whip* within half an hour after, who were not tryed by the Law, and who had received *your* Law before (and yet were not tryed) and so were not to be *whipt* again by *your* own Law, but otherwise to be proceeded with as that Law provides, as aforesaid: (What *Heaps* of *Injustice* and *Illegalities* are here altogether by *your* own Law?) So *your* Laws are but Covers for *your* Cruelty, Who, so to deal with *these* People ye had determin'd, and therefore so deal will you with *these* People: and therefore, when *they* have not broken *your* Law, *you* can execute it upon *them*; and also without the due Proceeding of Law, as thinking ye may do as ye will, and that ye shall never account for it to God or *Man*: as the said *Daniel Denison* said, — *This Year ye will go and complain to the Parliament; and the next Year they will send to see how it is; and the third Year the Government is changed*— and this in *Open Court*. But be not deceived; As sure as ye have acted all this Violence and Outrage upon the *Innocent*, So will the Lord (if *Man* should not, yet *Man* shall do *His Will*) Execute His Righteous Judgments upon *You*; yea, *sevenfold* more, and with *grievous Indignation* Will He require it of *You*: And this the Lord hath spoken, and He will fulfil his Word, and the time is near.

Now, as *this* Sentence was the *Action* of the *Night*; so *with-in Night*, after the *Moon* was up, was the *Execution*: *Your* *Jay-lor* was desired to let *them* see by what Order he did it, but he would not, having learn'd it of *You*; but the next day he came, and

The *People* called upon to bear witness that *they* could not have *Justice*.

Dan. Denison's account of the Reason of *your* Proceedings so illegally against those *People*, & with such Cruelty.

and required *them* to work; *They* were willing so to do for *their* Families, from whom they had been so violently taken, if *they* might have the benefit thereof, and so *they* told him; but this would not do, Except he might have *Eight Pence* out of the *Shilling* (his usual demand) So they refused to work, and he threatned *them* the *Post* and the *Whip* again, but did it not (the *Execution* already done upon such *Peaceable Men*, who had Families, from which they were taken, and of good Reputation, so affecting the *People* of the *Town*, who were so taken therewith, and muttered so much, that it was forborn) but after *Three weeks* and *Three dayes* they were sent for by *You* at *Boston* (being sate in a Court General) and delivered to the *Master* of your house of *Correction* (there to be sure to be dealt surely with) and from thence were brought before *You*; Who, (several of *You*, as *Denison*, and *Broadstreet* (who had been twice their Judges, and had now wrongfully accused them, and yet sate as Judges a *Third time* upon them) *Your* Deputy-Governor and others) laid to *their* charge many grievous things, but proved nothing—*They* desired a *fair Tryal*, either by a *Jury* of *Twelve Men*, or the *Court General* according to Law, and for this purpose put in a *Paper* to *You*, shewing also how *they* had been wrongfully twice Imprisoned and whipt as before. This *You* would not grant; but *One* of your * Magistrates (seeing where *they* were, which was indeed, there where *they* should be, and that *they* could not prove *them* such as the Law makes *Quakers*) said, —*That the Court would find out an Easier way to find out a Quaker, than by Blasphemy* (who could find out no such way, as ye did afterwards, viz. —The not putting off the *Hat*, upon which ye Banish'd and put to Death (for matter of Doctrine, ye had not, nor Principle, nor Practice) of which in its place) So *they* suffered not for a Law already broken, but for one that was intended to be made (What shall I say whereby to express *these* your illegal and wrong Proceedings?) —*They* prest for a bearing, and argued the Reasonableness thereof, and demanded, —Whether *their* Law was made against a *Name*, or a *Thing*? —*Dan. Denison* (to whom the *Question* was put) answered, —*Against a Thing*—If so (said *they*) Then let us be tryed by the *Things* contained in the Law—as *Blasphemy*, *Heresie*, *Devilish Doctrines*, with such like, as are the words of the Law,

27th day, 8th
Month, 1658.

A Tryal by 12 men again demanded of the Court General or by the Court Gen. according to Law

Such a Tryal denied by the Court General.

*Simon Broadstreet.

The Hat made a Character of One called a Quaker, when no Principle or Practice could be had, upon which they are put to Death.

The First of this Nature that the Ear hath heard of.

upon which was the *Penalty* — He replied, — *That the Court did not punish them for Error in Judgment, but for Fault.* — They desired to know the *Fact*. — He said, — *It was — Entertaining the Quakers, who were their Enemies ; Not coming to their Meetings, and meeting by themselves.* — They Adjoyned, That as to those things they had already fastned their Law upon them ; as, *Forty shillings every hour for Entertaining such a One, as they called so ; Five shillings Absence from their Meetings ; and Ten shillings for meeting by themselves.* So Ye had nothing left but the *Hat*, for which (then) ye had no Law. — They answered, — That they should not have offered Ye that in coming thither, (for they must come to you in their Cloaths, if they came decently, of which the *Hat* is part) for it was not their Manner to have to do with Courts ; And as for withdrawing from their Meetings, or keeping on their Hats, or doing any thing in Contempt of them, or their Laws, They said, the Lord was their Witness (as He is) that they did it not. So Ye rose up, and bid the Jaylor take them away.

The next day, was Your Lecture at Boston, whereat Charles Brief-Chansey's Divinity, the Master of your Colledge, and do, when ye could prove nothing against them : And thus he Way, to Put it, — Suppose (said he) ye should catch Six Wolves in a Trap, *known to Death* (now these Friends were Six, all Inhabitants of Salem, to whom after the nature of Wolves indeed then he alluded) and ye cannot prove that they killed either Sheep or Lambs (so they are Innocent, at least, unto Men) and now ye must go for one have them they will neither Bark nor Bite (so they were without and bear the occasion of Offence) Yet they have the plain Marks of Wolves (and the *Penalty*, who yet before they were Wolves, wherein lay the Matter, which ro be one, hath was yet to be proved, and prove it he could not, nor could so manifested himself. you, and therefore he stepped in to help You in the Case (i. e. to knock them in the head) and for this he layes his Supposition, and takes the Case for granted, viz. that they are Wolves : — Suppose (saith he) ye should catch Six Wolves, &c. which it is not, for here lies the Controversie, and then argues there-upon (Just like your Proceedings with them at Law ; take them for Quakers (such whom ye call so) and punish them by the Law, which knows them not : And then he comes to Marks, and here's none but the *Hat*, which your Law marked not) Now I leave.

leave it to your Consideration (said he) whether Ye will let them go alive, yea, or nay? This was as to the Case of those Friends in Custody, whose Blood he and you thirsted after, but could not tell how to come at it by any colour of Law, nor to work their Sufferings, nor justify what ye had already done unto them; for Proof of which they had already put you, but ye could not make it; or that they were such that your Law took notice of. Therefore Your High-Priest came to do it, and to shew you a Way, which is the most Devilish that ever was heard of, viz. - To cause a Man to suffer, not for what he is, but for what he may be; - To judge a Man to Death without Proof; - To kill him lest he may do so and so; - To Execute Law, where there is no Fact; - To deal with a Man as with a Beast; - To put Man, who was made after the Image of God, of whom God saith, He that sheddeth Man's Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed; for after the Image of God made he Man— into the state of a Beast, who is known by his skin, but a Man is not but by the spirit that is in him; nor by that neither, so as to judge unto Suffering, but by the Effects, or some Overt Act (as the Law of England termeth it, and it is a good word upon something done, as is the Interpretation) and that upon Proof, - To make a Man as a Beast, as a Beast of Prey, whom any Man may kill, and it is lawful so to do; - To judge of Fact by Hereafter, and of what a Man may do for time to come, but as yet it cannot be said of him: - To kill a Man for hereafter, and for Ages to come— Yet this is Priest Chansey's, and the Doctrine of your Priests, and the Practice of You, as the Sequel makes manifest; for You had a great Consultation again; and your Priests were put to it, how to prove them as your Law had said; And Ye had them before you again, and your Priests were with you every One by his side (so came ye to Your Court) and John Norton must ask them Questions on purpose to ensnare them, that by your standing Law for Hereticks you might condemn them (as your Priests before consulted) And when this would not do (for the Lord was with them, and made them wiser than your Teachers) Ye made a Law to banish them upon Pain of Death, Even all such, as having suffered your Law, should offend again; that is to say, Come into your Jurisdiction, or be such a One as is called a Quaker, whom ye so distinguish by the Hat in that Law, viz. The not observing

observing the *Laudable Custom of the Nation* (that is, the putting off the Hat) and the *Contempt of Authority* (that is, keeping it on in the Court) and these having suffered your Law again and again, and that without Cause or legal Proceeding, ye banish'd (after all this ado) whilst *Ye* could have nothing against them, either to justifie what ye had already done by vertue of your Law, which said not so; or, for what ye did so do unto them, under colour of a Law made by you whilst they were under your hands, by a Law a *Postea*, made after they were Prisoners, because they had wrongfully suffered your Law twice before; (What *Abominable* Injustice is this, and hard to be parallel'd?) And so they suffered, whose Names are *Lawrence Southick*, *Cassandra* his Wife, their Son *Josiah* (see a Man and his House, yea a Man and his Herisage) *Samuel Shattock*, *Nicholas Phelps*, and *Joshua Buffum*; of which more hereafter when I come to your Law of Banishment.

Twelve more had before the Court at Salem of the Inhabitants thereof, and fined 40 l. 19 sh. for Absenting from your Meetings.

Fines to the value of 100 l. or upwards laid by that Court.

William Maffon of Hampton. 8th Moneth, 1658.

A Horrible Cruelty.

After this the Constables of Salem by the Instigation of *William Hathorne* made diligent search after their Meetings; sometimes on Horseback, sometimes on Foot (for Money ye wanted) with Power to break open Houses, where they should not be let in (who resisted not) and Twelve more of them were had to your Court at Salem, and fined Forty pounds Nineteen shillings for absenting from your Meetings; which as the Spring grew on, your Marshal gathered up for your Treasuries, by Attaching Cattle and Land; and great Fines ye took of some Men for their Wives absence, though they themselves came to your Meetings, (of which I have touched) to the Impoverishing of many Families, who had but little in the Outward; the Fines then taken amounting to One Hundred Pounds and upwards. And *William Maffon* of Hampton in your Colony, for Two Books found in his House, viz. *John Lilburn's Resurrection* (so intituled) and *VV. Dusberies mighty Day of the Lord*, was fined Ten Pounds, and the Books took away; and for not coming to your Meetings, Five Pounds, and for your Priest, Three Pounds; for which certain Barrels of Beef were seized on, and *Ten* took to the value of above Twenty Pounds: And because whilst the aforesaid were in Prison, coming through Salem, he took some Provisions for *Lawrence* and *Cassandra Southick* of their Children, and for *Josiah* of his Wife; he was sent for by your Governor,

vernor, and Committed to Prison, and continued there about Fourteen dayes, in the Cold Winter season, though aged about Seventy years.

Thus have you made a Prey of the Innocent, and added Affliction to their Bonds, and stopped your Ears at the Cry of their Oppression: Therefore the Lord will not hear your Cry in the Day of your Calamity, which shall suddenly come upon you, nor deliver you; His Eye will not spare you, but ye shall fall, and never rise again; the Mouth of the Lord of Hosts hath spoken it.

But to return to your House of Correction, and to lay in Order before you the Sufferings of the Strangers as well as of the Inhabitants, and to relate what ye did unto them, and the Ears ye cut off, as saith Your Declaration—viz. The Penalty was increased by the loss of the Ears of those that offended the second time—that is to say—that came into your Jurisdiction (for that was the Offence) and so to seal up your Sum.

About the beginning of the Sixth Month, 1658. Christopher 6th Moneth, Holder and John Copeland were moved of the Lord to go again 1658. to Boston (where they had suffered so cruelly before) and on the Christopher Third of the said Month went thitherwards, and came as far Holder. in their way, as a Town called Dedham, where they lodged that Jo. Copeland. Night, intending the next Morning to move to Boston; but they were prevented of so doing (as of themselves) for the Constables came early in the Morning, and told them that they had a Warrant to carry them to Boston; whither they brought them before your Governor, who, being tormented in spirit, said in a Rage, —Ye shall be sure to have your Ears cut off— and after asking them many Questions, sent them to Prison, and the next day had them before the Court, where he sought to ensnare them: but they told him, They should not answer him, because he sought so to do. Whereupon he had the Impudence to say, —That they sought to ensnare them sure enough— And so at the Motion of Rawson your Secretary, they were committed to Prison, and ordered to be kept close at Work, with Prisoners Diet only, till their Ears were cut off; which your Jaylor sought to put in Execution (though your Law of Cutting off Ears spake no such thing) and threatned them with your former Law of whipping them twice a week, and every time to increase Three fives Fifteen

Fifteen stripes (the first time) to Eighteen, and so forwards, and shewed them the Order whereby Four of Ten Friends were so used ; and would have reasoned them into the thing , and why they would put their Bodies to such Torture, he asked them, as if he had pitty of them, who sought to destroy them. But they could not answer him, whose Demand was as well besides your Law, as it was against the Lord. So he shut them up in a close Room, where they were kept without any Food that he knew off (for he thought to starve them, if they would not do his Work, and so Eat) for the space of Eight dayes, after which his Wife came, (fearing what might become of them) and tendred them Milk, or what they would for their Money ; So that from that time Friends were suffered to put into them at the Window what they needed. So through hard suffering they brake your Law, and his Cruelty.

*John Rous, 25.
Sixth Month,
1658.*

Sometime after this, *John Rous* aforesaid was commanded of the Lord to go to *Boston*, and thither came the 25th of the sixth Month, 1658. where he honestly discovered himself to the Man of the House whereto he came (after he had set up his Horse) what he was, that so he might not suffer through an Ignorant Entertaining of him, who shortly after fetch'd the Marshal, who brought him to your Governor, who after an Impertinent Examination, committed him to Prison.

*Christop Holder
Job. Copeland,
John Rous,
their Ears cut
off, 7th of the
7th Month;
1658.
10th 7th Mon.
1658.*

So on the Seventh of the Seventh Month, 1658. they Three, viz. Christopher Holder, John Copeland, and John Rous (all single young men) were had before you ; and because they had been before You once before, and suffered your Law (which should have clear'd them from further suffering (for by the Law of England a man having suffered the Penalty is clear, as if he had not transgressed the Law) after a first and second time being at your Court ; viz. on the Tenth of the Seventh Month aforesaid, (wherein your Governor and Deputy Governor shewed their

** Dan. Denisons
second Speech,
demonstrating
their Resoluti-
on to root out
those People,
because they
were the stron-
ger.*

Rancour and Unreasonableness of spirit : The said * Denison saying, —We are the stronger, and so look to your selves (which was a base word he often used) and Master Rous (for so I may call you, having heard of your Father, that he is a Gentleman) (yet ye cut off the Gentlemans son's Ear) and threatning to Gag them, if they would not be silent when they were speaking for themselves in such a Case as the loss of a Member, and such a one as an Ear,

Ears, and so to be marked as *Regnes* (which all Law allows, viz. to speak for themselves) and Denying their Appeal to England (which they solemnly made) after that the Governor had said unto them, — *It is the Sentence of the Court, That you Three haire each of you his Right Ear cut off by the Hangman* — I say, after the Sentence *Ye* hastened the Execution; and the *Taylor* to that purpose, and on the Sixteenth of the said Month, sent *Your* Marshal's Deputy, who came with a Company of *Blood-thirsty men* (such as fitted his turn, and serv'd his end) to the Prison, on the Day aforesaid, and shutting of the Door (whereas the Executions of Justice ought to be Publick, but so it was not with *Yours*, nor for the space of Two years and a half before were any of *Your* Executions so done to these People) He caused the *Right Ear* (the *Left* it seems would not serve.) of the said *Christopher Holder*, *John Copeland*, and *John Rous* to be cut off, as aforesaid; which being done, the said Servants of the Lord, whose *Ears* you had caused so to be cut off, said, — *They that do it Ignorantly, We desire the Lord from our hearts to forgive them; but for them that do it Maliciously, Let our Blood be on their Heads: and such shall know in the Day of Account, that every one of these Drops of Our Blood shall be as heavy upon them as a Millstone* — And your Marshal (with those that came with him) slunk away, as a Dog that is discovered sucking the Blood of a Lamb: Who also was so cowardly, and the sence of Guilt so upon him, that when the Execution began on *Christopher Holder* (who was the first whose Ear was cut) he turned from it, till *John Rous* said, — *Nay, Turn about and see it done*, as was his Order.

The same day that these were the last time had before You, *Lawrence Southick*, *Cassandra* his Wife, and *Josiah* their Son, were had before you also, whom ye thought to have proceeded with, as with the Others, viz. the Two Men (for with the Women you did by Cruel Whipping, according to your Law) but your Law was short as to them; Which was for every One that came into your Jurisdiction the second time, such should have their

Another Solemn Appeal (in Case of their Ears) made to England, and Denied.

16th of the Eight Month the Execution done.

Executions of Punishment as to Whipping and losse of Limb, &c. done in Private, contrary to the Law of England, and of God, which orders them that we truly so (that is, Punishments) to be otherwise, that all may hear and fear; And which is like to Justice, which seeks no Corner. And the Bishops cut off the Ears of *W. Pryme*, *Henry Burton* and *Dr. Basswick* in the Palace-yard at Westminster, and upon a Scaffold before the People, though it was done by Order of the Star-Chamber.

Lawrence Southick, Cassandra, Josiah.

Right Ear cut off (Ye cannot give a Member to any, and yet can in your wills destroy, for which God will blot your Names out of the Book of Life; it is Eternal, and you shall witness it.) So take your Sentence, which shall assuredly come upon you as you have done the thing (for ye did it wickedly) the Lord hath spoken it. So you will find it sad cutting off Ears, and dealing thus Cruelly as you have by the Innocent, whose Cry the Lord hath heard, and the Cry of their Blood and Sufferings, and He is near to Avenge it.) But for those that were of the Jurisdiction, it provided not: To they escaped the loss of that Member; but not your other Cruelty; for you still kept them in the House of Correction, notwithstanding they were clear of your Law, and had suffered wrongfully what they had suffered before upon account of your last Law, which was, — That every such Person and Persons (that is to say, such as ye call Quakers) arising among your selves, and professing any of their Pernicious ways (as ye reproach, but prove not) by speaking, writing, and by meeting in the Lords Day, or at any other time (a sore Punishment, for a Man to dye for meeting with the People of the Lord, to wait upon Him; yet this in the consequence is your Law, for this characterizeth him to be such a One as ye call a Quaker, and being a Quaker, he must be whipt, and then depart the Jurisdiction; and if return, suffer as in the Case of Strangers, viz. be put to Death. See whether the Earth ever had the like since the Sun shone upon it. Its too long to inculcate Every Particular, the Reader may in his own Understanding; and the Lord God of Heaven and Earth will do it upon your Consciences, ye most unreasonable of Men, and the most Brutish of the Nations, whom the Lord God will cut off, and make you an Example to all that hereafter shall dare to do such things against the Lord God of Heaven and Earth, who gives to all Life and Breath and Moving, and against those that meet together to wait on Him; as He hath said it, so He will do it, and this shall come to pass, the Lord hath spoken it) shall incur the Penalty ensuing, viz. Every Person so meeting, shall pay to the Country Ten shillings; and every One speaking in such Meeting, Five pounds a piece: And in case any such Person hath been punished by Scourging (ye speak broad that ye may frighten, but the Hand of the Lord will come as large upon you as ye have spoken) or Whipping the first time, according to the former Laws (which

(which was the Case of these Three) shall be kept at work in the House of Correction, till they put in Security by two sufficient men, that they shall not any more Commit their baneful Errands (who were convicted of money nor of wanton) nor use their sinful Practices (who feared the Lord, and did nothing but in obedience to Him) Or shall depart this Jurisdiction at their Own charge. And if any of them Return again [then] such such Person shall incur the Penalty of the Law formerly made for Strangers. (which they had not manifested) I say, though they escaped the loss of their Ears, (that is to say, the Two Men (as I have said) for the Woman Cassandra ye cruelly whip with Ten Stripes (the Penalty of that your Law, Sonchick, which ye say in this concern'd them not) yet ye kept them in Prison upon the Account of the said Law for Strangers, when that Law for Strangers did not concern them; and so they were wrongfully Imprisoned and detained, and not set at Liberty, till you had made a Fourth Law, viz. That of Banishment upon Pain of Death; and so these Three (with Three more of the Inhabitants of which more in its place) I banish'd the Father, Mother, and Son, with sister of whom No Proceedings have been had according to Law, so that they are now there.

And Katherine Scot of the Town of Providence in the Jurisdiction of Round Island (a Mother of many Children, one that had lived with her Husband the space of Twenty years, of an Unblamable Conversation, and a grave, sober, ancient Woman, and of good Breeding as to the outward, as Men account) coming to see the Execution of the said Three, as aforesaid, whose Ears ye cut off, and saying upon their doing of it privately, and keeping her and others from coming in, who desired to see it, — That it was evident they were going to all the Works of Darkness, or else they would have brought them forth Publickly, and have declared their Offence, that others may hear and fear — Ye Committed to Prison (though she was married of the Lord so to do, and to come and bear Testimony) and gave her Ten cruel stripes with a Three-fold-corded-knotted Whip, with that Cruelty in the Execution as aforesaid to others, on the second day of the Eighth Month, 1658. Though ye confessed when ye had her before you, That for aught ye knew, she had been of an Unblamable Conversation, and though some of you knew her Father, and called him Mr. Marbery, and that she had been well bred (as among Men) and had so lived (as

Katherine
Scot.

2d day, 8th
Month, 1658.

Men account) and that *she was the Mother of many Children*; yet ye whipt her for all that, and moreover told her, — *That ye were likely to have a Law to hang her.* (what bloody words do ye wrap out!) *if she came thither again* — To which *she answered* — *If God call us, we be so us if we do not*; and *Question not, but He whom we love will make us not to count our Lives dear unto our selves for the sake of his Name.* — To which your Governor *John Endicot* replied (and with what wickedness may be judged) — *And we shall be as ready* (said he) *to take away your Lives, as ye shall be to lay them down* — as what follows makes manifest, *viz. Your Law of Banishment upon pain of Death*, which this leads me unto.

— *Which also* (viz. that of cutting off Ears.) *being too weak a Defence against their Impetuous Frantick Fury*, necessitated me to endeavour our Security; and upon serious Consideration, *After the former Experiments by their incessant Assaults*, *A Law you made that such Persons should be banished upon Pain of Death*, according to the Example of England in their Provision against Jesuites. —

Ans. The Consideration of what I have already said, as to your *Laws* and the *Grounds* of them, and the *Cruelties* sustained by the *Innocent*, though it be enough to lay you on the Ground with all *sober and unbiassed* People, and to make you appear to be the worst of Men, as you are of those who pretend themselves *Christians*; and though on this foot I need not add further weight to this *Matter*, it being so *comprehensive* of it self; Yet in regard you have cut out my way, and by adding *Blood* unto *Bonds*, *Whippings*, *Cutting off Ears*, &c. laid a *Necessity* upon me, to bring upon *You* the *Blood* of the *Innocent*, as you have their other *Sufferings*; And because ye seem to lay the stress of your *Proceedings* upon the *Example* of *England*, in their Provision against *Jesuites*, and so seem to batton what you have done, as to the *Lives* of these People *thereupon*: for so are your words, *viz. — According to the Example of England, in their Provision against Jesuites.* — I shall there put you to it, and if ye there cannot hold (as *You* will see ye cannot by and by) then ye will fall into *Blood*, as you are into the rest of the *Sufferings* of the *Innocent*.

Thus then, The *Law of England*, in its Provision against *Jesuites*, is laid upon these *Grounds* or *Considerations*.

First,

First, That the Pope pretends unto a *Supream Right* over all Nations and Kingdoms in things *Civil* and *Religious*, as the *Successor* of *Peter*.

Secondly, That by *Virtue* of this his *Supremacy* he may *Excommunicate* Princes, *Absolve* Subjects from their *Obedience*, *Arm* Subjects against their Princes, *Change* their *Dominions*, *Degrade* their *Royalties*, *Pull down* as he pleaseth.

Thirdly, That the *Jesuites*, or those of the *Order* of *Jesus*, (as they *Blasphemously* term it) are the *Sworn* Servants of the *Pope*, and are sent out by him into all Nations to *Exert* this his *Authority*, and to hold forth his *Dominion*.

Fourthly, That in *Order* hereunto, The men of that *Order*, or *Jesuites* (so called) have come into *England*, and have sought, by *Virtue* of the *Supremacy* aforesaid, to *Draw* Subjects from *Obedience* to their Princes, *Levy* Arms, *Plot*, *Contrive*, *Raise* *Rebellions*, yea to *Murder* their Princes; And this *Ex Officio*, & *Virtute Ordinis*, by *Virtue* of their *Order* or *Office*.

Fifthly, That the *Pope* hath taken upon him to *Excommunicate* Princes in *England*, To *Absolve* their Subjects from *Obedience* unto them, to *Change*, *Altar*, *Pull down*, and *Set up* as he pleaseth.

Sixthly, That the *Jesuites* (so called) have been hereof *Convicted*, and to have wrought in *Order* hereunto as the *Principal* *Emissaries*.

Seventhly, That the Nation of *England* hath oft-times *Endured*, and *Suffered*, *Consisted* with and *Travelled* through much *Blood* and *War*, *Trouble* and *Misery*, to the *Breaking* of the *Peace* thereof, and the *Hazarding* of its *Government* to a *Foreign* *Vassallage*, because and by *Reason* hereof.

In *Consideration* of All which, and that the *English* Nation is *Naturally* *Obliged* to its *Right* and *lawful* Prince against all *Forreign* *Invasion*, or *Obtrusion*; and that the *Men* of the *Order* aforesaid, are *Obliged* *Virtute Ordinis & Officii*, By their *Order* or *Office* to the *Contrary*, and have come into *England* (and many of them *English*, who have gone beyond the *Seas*, and received *Orders* of the *Pope* as aforesaid) and have so been proved through a long *Tract* of *Time*; Therefore it *Provides*, as in the said *Act* is at large *Expressed*, unto which I refer, and to the *Preamble* of the said *Act*, and the *other* *Laws*, and *Acts*

of the Nation which relate thereunto, for the *Sevenfold* Ground on which the Provisions in that Law are made and Bottom'd as aforesaid, and on which they Stand.

Now what is this to the People called *Quakers*, or, in Justification of *your* Proceedings against them, as to *Banishment* and *Death*?

Are *they* Papists or Popishly affected? Did *ye* ever find *them* so? or hath the *least* shadow thereof been laid to their charge by *you*, or found against *them*?

Have *you* ever found *them* *Raising of Arms*, or *Plotting* or *Con-
triving* in order there unto? Or *seeking* to withdraw the People in *your* Jurisdiction from their Allegiance unto *England* (its well if *some* such thing be not found upon *you*) or to *you* in order to *England*? Or, hath it not been manifest that their Principle is otherwise? *Viz.* To *Lead out of Wars*, and *the* *Occasion* of *them* (i.e.) *the* *Lusts* that are in Men from whence *they* come.

Did they ever put the Nation of *England* into *Wars* and *Confusion* to Exert their Principle, or any other Nation on the face of the *Earth*? Or, on the Contrary, hath not *Peace* been that which *they* have Endeavoured among men? and is not *their* Gospel Good-will towards men?

Are *they* men of Blood, of *Assassinations*, and *Murders*? hath any man fallen by *their* hands? or, have *they* stretched out their hand against any man?

Have *they* not Endeavoured, and is it not their Principle to bring out of Blood and Confusion, out of War and Destruction, out of Desolation and Calamity? And have they not subjected themselves to the *Spoiler*, and their Estates to the *Robber*, in order hereto?

Can any of the *Seven* Particulars aforesaid, on which the Law of *England* in its Provisions against *Jesuites* (which *you* take to as *your* Example in the Case) is grounded, or any thing *Congruous* or *Surable* thereunto be Justly attributed to *those* People? Or, have *ye* charged them with any such in Particular, and found it upon *them*? How come *ye* then to say, In Example of the Law of *England* in their Provisions against *Jesuites*? Surely, *ye* thought to *shame* Ignorant People therewith, as Children are with the Name of *Jesuites*: So that if *ye* name but *Jesuite*, and speak

Speak of a Law made against them, it is Enough; An Example of the Law of England in their Provisions against Jesuits— say ye. But the Law of England hath no such Ground for its Provisions against that Order of Men, as yours against these People, which indeed is none at all; nor warrants your Proceedings. So your Warranty being gone, where's your Hold?

Thus are ye taken in the Snare which you have layd for others, and in the Pit which ye have digged are your selves fallen; And the Law of England is not for, but against you; is not an Example to you in this Case, but the Contrary. So henceforwards take heed how you shed Blood, and then seek to cover your selves under the Laws of England, (who would not be under its Law) or seek to that for shelter which will not save you. Thus much as to the Example of England in their Provisions against Jesuits, and what you have built thereupon. Now as to those who Suffered by Vertue of your Law.

And these in the First place are Lawrence Southick, his Wife Cassandra, and Josiah their Son (whom I have often mentioned for your Cruelty, by reason you have given me oft the Occasion) & Josiah Samuel Sharrock, Nicholas Phelps, and Joshua Buffum; All Inhabitants of Salem as aforesaid, against whom in no One Particular had ye proceeded according to Law; but having tortured their Bodies, and broken their Estates, and distracted their Families, and often wearied them (though in the Lord they had rest) Ye Banish'd them from All, even from their Countrey; the very Court of Election, in the Moneth called May following, giving them but a very little time to Depart, on pain of Death; which put them to much straits and hardships, yet go they must, ther's no stay; ye had now got your Law to rid the Land of them (as ye thought, but were mistaken) or to take the Lives of them from the Land of the Living; Your Tugg was Over, and ye had carried it, of them that stood stiff a while against the Passing of that Law, but Two came to Enter their Dissents viz. Capt. Edward Hutcheson, and Capt. Tho. Clark, (whose Names I mention to remain upon Record as a good Saviour to the Lord and his People through all Generations, which shall witness for them) Indeed there was a great adoe, and hard work it Cost ye to get

Matcheson, Capt. Thomas Clark, a Merchant of Boston, Enter their Dissents under the Law of Banishment upon pain of Death.

it about, *John Norton* and the rest of your *Prests* being not able to Convict the *Persons* aforesaid either by *Law* or *Otherwise*, or by *Ensnaring* Questions to bring them under the *Law*, as hath been Declared, *Petitioned* the *Magistrates* the next day to set forward the Court to make some *Law* to Banish them upon pain of *Death* (so see, the *Spring* and *Fountain* of this *Work* of *Darkness*, and who it was this *Bloody Law* First moved in) and they prescribed *Particulars*, as matter upon which to proceed, (I could set down all, that all might see their *Bloody Spirits*, and what *Cruelty* lodged in them, but I leave the *Particulars* to rot with themselves, seeing the *Court* thought fit to make it a *Law*) and much struggling there was, on the one hand to get it, on the

The Court of *Deputies* opposite to the *Passing* of the *Law*

The Court of *Magistrates* for it; of these *Two*, as of *Two* Houses, is the Court General made up.

Provision in the *Law* as to *Death* without *Trial* of a *Jury*.

The Court of *Deputies* oppose it.

The *Priests* set it on.

* The *Law* pass'd for *Life* without *Jury* in the Court of *Deputies* by *One* *Vote*.

Thirteen for it.

The *Speaker* and *Eleven* against it.

such a *Law* to pass.

other to oppose it. The Court of *Deputies* could by no means be brought to Consent thereunto. The *Priests* and *Rulers* were all for *Blood*, and they pursued it, and the Court of *Magistrates* Voted it without *Trial* of a *Jury*, and in Express words, to be put in Execution by a *County* Court, which *Three* *Magistrates* made up, the *Majority* of which might hang at pleasure without a *Jury* (a *Thing* not heard of in these *Dominions*, but it served the *Priests* purpose, who set it on.) This the *Deputies* withstood, and it could not pass, and the *Opposition* grew strong, for the thing came near: Deacon *Woxel* was a *Man* much affected therewith, and being not well at that time that he supposed the *Vote* might pass, he Earnestly desired the *Speaker* and some of the *Other* *Deputies* to send for him when it was to be, lest by his Absence it might miscarry; The *Deputies* that were against the *Passing* of that *Law*, thinking themselves strong enough (being indeed the most Reasonable, and the more Moderate men of the Court) to cast it out, forbore to send for him. The thing came to it, and the *Vote* was put, and carried in the Affirmative for the *Law* to Pass without *Trial* of a *Jury*, and by a *County* Court; The *Speaker* and *Eleven* being in the *Negative*, and *Thirteen* in the *Affirmative*; So *One* *Vote* Carried it, which troubled Deacon *Woxel*, so when he heard it, that he got to the Court in great grief of Spirit, desiring to have his *Vote*, and Wept for grief that his absence should Occasion such a *Law* to Pass, and said, If he had not been able to go, he would have Crept upon

Deacon *Woxel* sorely troubled that his Absence should occasion

his

his hands and his knees rather than it should have been— but it would not be granted; the miscarriage being (as was said) by reason of One *Russel* (formerly of *Bristol* in Old England) and One *Collins* (of *Mistick*) notwithstanding to it, and being wrong in the Vote; which I mention that their Names may Remain who were for, and against it. For how ever it may be thought (yet this shall stand a witness against them, unto all Generations, for such a wicked Law, and the Blood of the Innocent may not be forgotten) Yet a great Difference there was, and the Court broke up, and the Twelve aforesaid, resolved to Enter their Dissents under the Law, (it being also so Repugnant to the Laws of England, to put to death without Jury, than which there is nothing more Repugnant) which the Magistrates seeing, and how such a number of Dissents would weaken their Law; To be tried by Admitted this Addition to the Law, viz. — To be tryed by a special Jury and all this Tryal when it came to it, was but Whether they were Quakers? which they Judged by their Coming in Covered, and that they had been in the Country before, and suffered the Law, and had been Banish'd (as I shall anon make appear) not of any particular principle, or matter of Fact, by a Legal Conviction, more than aforesaid, from first to last) and a Court of Assistants, which consists of Seven Magistrates at the least (This being according to a standing Law of the Countrey, viz. That none be sentenc'd to Death or Banishment but by a special Jury, and a Court of Assistants; which the other was against, as it was against the Law of England: as I have said) So this reconcil'd the matter, and but onely the Two former Entered their Dissents as aforesaid, and the Law passed, and ye proceeded thereupon (as I have said) and followed it hard in the Execution, as ye did in the Making, and Your Priests set ye on, from whom it proceeded, and no Consideration of the Age of *Lawrence* and *Cassandra*, nor of their Family on whom ye had layd hands; nor the State of the Rest, nor of their Wives, Children, Relations, Families, nor of their Estates, which had suffered much in their many, long, and sore Imprisonments, some of them Ten Weeks at a time, and some Twenty, in the chief time of the Summer when they should have been at Liberty to look to their Hay, and Grass, and Provisions for the Winter to keep their Catle from starving, and their Families from perishing.

perishing; Nor the State of *Joshua Buffum's* Father, who was a weakly Aged Man, and had neither Son nor Servant to help him, but the said *Joshua*; nor the Season of the Year then, it being the Spring, and a time for them a little to look out for the Preservation of what was left, that they might not be utterly destroyed; nor their being so forely Whipt, some of them Twice Each, and some Four times (all which they told the Court) being Convicted of nothing, but for not coming to your Meetings, and for Meeting by themselves, for which you were satisfied upon their Goods according to your Law. As they sent you notice in a Paper to this Purpose, viz. — That seeing the chief offence ye had against them was the not putting off the Hat; They desired to know if their Punishments had not been sufficient for their Offences, (as some of them had been twice Imprisoned Ten weeks, and twice Whipt; One had been Twice Imprisoned and Four times Whipt; Three had been Twice Imprisoned and Whipt, and the last time kept Prisoners Twenty weeks, the chief time of all the Summer, such as lived on Husbandry; Their Hay and Harvest lying on the spoil, and nothing to charge them with, but their Meetings on the First Dayes of the Week by themselves, and their not coming to Your Meetings, and not putting off their Hats, (for the Two former of which Your Law was satisfied on their Goods—) I say, none of these Considerations, nor such like (though they were very tender to hearts that had any softness) no nor of your Governor, being Struck in the Court of Commissioners at the end thereof, when they sought to have this Bloody Law passed, the Rest of the Collonies; So that for some Weeks he could not go home to his Own House, which was but a little ways from it, but lay in a Tavern from his Own Habitation, who strove so much (and Rich. Bellingham with him) to Banish others; But his heart being hardned like Pharaoh's, instead of Considering, he was in a great Rage against them, and poured forth what his fury and wicked Spirit could bring forth, and told them, They all deserved to be hang'd, and that they were Blasphemers, and Hereticks (who had never any such thing proved against them as hath been said, when they desir'd it, and to be tryed for that purpose) He said, That they Worshipped another God, & looked to be saved by another Christ then they did; (who Worship no other God but him of whom are all things and look to be saved by no other Christ, than him by whom are all things) and Say what ye will, we will not believe you: (a hard case

case indeed, and manifests that in him, Judgement was turned Backward, and Equity could not Enter; But the Just Lord sees it, And ye all were without Bowels of Compassion, and would not hear them (your Governour seeming as if he loathed their Persons) but Banish them ye did upon pain of Death after ye had appointed them to depart the Jurisdiction by the Court of Election in the Moneth called May as aforesaid; (which they did not) and ye gave them but a fortnights time to depart, and when after sentence was given, some of them who intended for England, desired that they might have leave to take shipping at Boston to pass for England, their being never another Convenient harbour in that Colony out of which to Pass: Ye were so shut up in your Bowels, that ye would not grant that, but your Governour said, Beware you are not here after the Eight day of June, (which was about Fourteen days after) so they were constrained, viz. Samuel Shattock, Nicholas Phelps, and Josiah Southick, (who were for England) to take the opportunity that presented in Four days after to pass to England by Barbadoes, having but Four dayes time of Remove; So they passed for England, and Lawrence Southick and Cassandra to Shelter Island (a place near, where shortly after, in three days of each other they both died, leaving their Blood on your heads) which the Lord will Visit when He comes to make Inquisition for Blood) and Joshua Buffum to Rhoad Island) and you sat down to Eat and to Drink, and rose up to Play, Over the Ruines of the Innocent. There die they asked your Governour what it was ye sought for of them? in three The Honour of God, or your selves. He answered, — They that days of honoured those that God had set over them, honoured God. — They each other. answered, — It was true, but that it was in Obediente to the Law of God, that they had suffered as they had; and further asked Tan, Josiah Whether it were that for that Fault they were committed to Prison, Buffum, to Rhoad Island before the Law had a being, that they were Banished, or when was it? But ye were silent. One of them also desired of the Governor, that he would be pleased now to Declare before the People the Real and True Causes (as in Truth they were) of all wherefore you Four (thus) Proceedings against them. — He answered, It proceeded thus was for Contemning Authority, in not coming to the Ordinances of against them, mentioned by God, (see the Priest in the Bottom to keep up his Audience, and your Governour

Authority ; For, as for the *Apostles* of Christ *they used no such thing*, but to draw men by reaching to *that* of God in *every mans* Conscience, thereby to lead *them*, and not by the *Outward Sword* which is the *Weapon* of *Antichrist* ; But the *Weapons* of *our warfare* (said *Paul*) are not *Carnal*, (*Prisons*, *Whipps*, *Cutting off Ears*, *Fines*, *Famishings*, *Stocks*, *Burnings*, *Beatings*, *Banishment*, *Death*) but *mighty through the Spirit*. So *Ye* shew where *ye* are, and *they* what *they* are upon, and whose *Kingdom* *they* seek, and what *they* build up, and whose *they* are, who seek to *Compel* that which is the *Seat* of God, (viz. the Conscience the *Dominion* of God, which *He* onely can reach) by the *Sword* of man) And that *they* had kept *Meetings* of their *Own*.— It was Answered, that for all this *Your Law* had taken hold of *them* ; That *they* stood not out against the *Authority* of the *Countrey* in not submitting to their *Laws* ; That then (very lately) *they* had taken from *them* about *Fourscore Pound*, on that Account, (which *they* since find to be *Upwards* of *One hundred* — *Your Governor* said, *They* had *Rebelled* against the *Authority* of the *Countrey*, in not *Departing* according to their *Order* (who as *they* told *them*, had no other where to go, and had *Wives*, and *Children*, and *Families*, and *Estates*, to look after, and were Conscience of nothing that *they* had done, that was *Worthy* of *Death*, or of *Banishment*, or of *Bonds*, or of any of the things which *they* had Suffered) *M. General Denison* told *them* (and see his *Command*, and what a *Man* *he* is to fight with *them* that do not Resist ; should an *Enemy*, indeed, come to put him to it, *he* and several others, its very like would hardly be so for-wards (*they* have been hardly found overforward at that work) viz. That *they* stood out against the *Authority* of the *Countrey* in not submitting to their *Laws* (but upon what *are* *they* grounded) That *he* should not go about to speak much concerning the *Error* of their *Judgements*, who convinced *them* of none, nor could ever be or you, and yet see how *ye* make *them* suffer ?) but as *he* had before told *them*.— That *they* and *you* were not able well to live together, (what an *Athiestical* Speech is here, as if there were no God that made the *World*, and placed *Man* in it, to dwell upon all the face of the *Earth*, as well one as another, and made the *Conscience* of *Man* for himself, or that would require of *Man* an Account of what *he* did to his fellow Creature, who, because *he* had

**D. Denison's
Athiestical
Principle.**

had Power in his hand, would not suffer *another* (whom God had made) to live by *him*; So No Man should live by *another* on the face of the Earth, where the *other* was the *stronger*, and where would this *end*, but in the rooting out Mankind from off the face of the Earth, as it believes there is No God) and that at present the Power was in your hand (but how long may it be can ye tell? Could not the Bishops have said so? yet they turned not you out as I have said, nor do they keep ye out) and therefore the strongest must fend off— Than which what can be said more wicked? or, what a more destructive Principle, and a more dangerous can there be in the World? Yet this hath been his word in all Courts; and this is the Principle on which ye go, Because Ye have Power in your hands; to whom the Wo is, Who devise Iniquity, and work Evil upon your Beds, and when the Morning is light ye practise it, because it is in the power of your hand. So see your Portion, and your Judgment from the Mouth of the Lord. Then ye put them forth a little while, and called them in again, and pronounc'd their Sentence of Banishment upon Pain of Death; and constrained them to, and who departed as aforesaid. Their Sentence was dated, May 11. 1659. without a Legal Conviction of one Principle or Practice that was contrary to Law, but because they were such as were called Quakers. And this is New-England, and the Justice of the Court of that part of it as is called the Bay of Massachusetts.

Micah 2-1;

May 11. 1659.

Yet ye were not satisfied with what ye had done to Lawrence and Cassandra, and Josiah Southick; but (as I have touched) you must be dealing with the rest of the Family; and they having (viz. the Old man and woman) that were Friends of Truth, to wit, Daniel and Provided; the Courts at Ipswitch and at Salem fined them Ten pounds, for not coming to your Meetings, but they having no Visible Estate so as you could find to lay hold upon, to satisfy it according to your Law; and your Resolution in the Case being desired, Ye Ordered them to be sold for the Payment thereof: Your Order runs thus, —Whereas Daniel Southick and Provided Southick, Son and Daughter of Lawrence Southick, have been fined by the Courts at Salem and Ipswitch, pretending they have no Estates, Resolving not to work; (that is to the Treasurer to answer the Fines; It seems you had rather have miss Meat, or Money to buy it, or to answer your other Lusts, and

Dan. Southick
Prov. Southick,
Ordered to be
sold for their
Fines.
Order of the
Court General
for selling for
Bondmen and
Bondwomen.

Amos 2. 4. to
the end.

And you will sell the Innocent; But you will have it rather than give Dry Blows, where there is nothing to be had; as those did, who sold the Righteous for Silver, and the Poor for a Pair of Shoes, that perished in the Dust of the Earth, on the head of the Poor, and turn aside the way of the Meek, and lay themselves down upon Clouds laid to pledge on Every Altar, and drink the VVine of the Condemned in the house of their god: Because of which the Lord said by the Prophet Amos, He would not turn away the Punishment thereof (even from Israel, where these things were found (Nor will he from Tyre) but the flight should perish from the Swift, and the Strong should not strengthen his force, neither should the Mighty deliver himself; Neither should he that handled the Bow, and he that is swift of foot deliver himself; neither should he that rideth the Horse deliver himself: and he that is courageous among the Mighty should flee away naked in that day. So saith the Lord of Tyre, as he did unto them, and it shall come to pass.) So read your Punishment and take your Judgment ye who have done this, and have not feared the Lord. And others likewise have been fined for siding with the Quakers (What English is here? any thing serves whereby to dispatch those People) and absenting themselves from the Publick Ordinances, In Answer to what should be done for the satisfaction of the Fines; The Court upon perusal of a Law (which was made upon the Account of Debts) in Answer Resolves, That the Treasurers of the several Countiees are and shall be fully Impowred to Sell the said Persons to any of the English Nations, as Virginia or Barbados, to Answer the said Fines, &c. but — Edward Rawson, Secret. —

2 Chron. 28. 8.
to the 16th.

— Yet, when the Israelites (those of the Ten Tribes) had fought with them of Judah, and brought Two hundred Thousand Women, Sons and Daughters Captives towards Samaria, in the dayes of Pekah the son of Remaliah, King of Israel, and of Abiez the son of Joatham, King of Judah, The Prophet of the Lord was there, whose name was Obed, and he went out before the Host that came to Samaria, and said unto them, Behold, because the Lord God of your fathers was wroth with Judah, he hath delivered them into your hand, and ye have slain them in a Rage that reacheth up to Heaven: And now ye purpose to keep under the Children of Judah and Jerusalem for Bondmen and Bondwomen unto you: but are there not with you, even with you, sins against the Lord your

your God? Now, hear me therefore, and deliver the Captives again, which ye have taken captive of your Brethren; for the fierce wrath of God is upon you. Then certain of the Heads of the Children of Ephraim, Azariah the son of Johanan, Berechiah the son of Meshillemoth, Jehizkiah the son of Shallum, and Amasa the son of Hadlai, stood up against them that came from the War, and said unto them, Ye shall not bring in the Captives hither: for whereas we have offended against the Lord already, ye intend to add more to our Sins, and to our Trespas: for our Trespas is great, and there is fierce Wrath against Israel. So the Armed men left the Captives and the Spoil, before the Princes and all the Congregation. And the men which were expressed by Name, rose up, and took the Captives; and with the Spoil clothed all that were Naked among them, and arrayed them, and shod them, and gave them to Eat and to Drink, and Anointed them, and carried all the Feeble of them upon Asses, and brought them to Jericho, the City of Palm-Trees, to their Brethren: then they returned to Samaria. For of the Children of Israel the Lord had said, They are my Servants, whom I brought out of the Land of Egypt, they shall not be sold as Bondmen; Thou shalt not Rule over him with Rigour, but shalt fear thy God; both the Bondmen and the Bondmaids which thou shalt have, shall be of the Heathen that are round about you, of them shall ye buy Bondmen and Bondmaids. Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they beget in your Land, and they shall be your Possession; and ye shall take them as an Inheritance for your Children after you to inherit them for a Possession, they shall be your Bondmen for ever: But over your Brethren the Children of Israel, ye shall not rule One over Another with Rigour, Levit. 25. 42, 43, 44, 45, 46.

But Ye have ordered to be sold of your Brethren, of their Sons and their Daughters, Not among your selves, but into other Plantations; not as Servants in your Houses, but as Slaves to others: And yet you cry out, Are not we the People of the Lord? is not the Lord in the midst of us? — The Ordinances of God; for not coming to the Ordinances of God, and Contemning Authority therein, therefore have we done thus and thus unto you, said your Governor in answer to them; as aforesaid, when they desired him before the People, to declare the Real Cause wherefore you dealt

dealt thus with them. And yet here is an Ordinance of God, and a very positive one too, yet how contrary is this your Order unto that? and how have ye ruled over them with Rigour (and the height of Cruelty) which the Lord said ye shall not do, Ye shall not rule one over another with Rigour; They shall not be sold for Bondmen. But the Just Lord is in the midst thereof (indeed) He will not do Iniquity: Every Morning doth he bring his Judgments to light, He faileth not; But the Unjust knoweth no shame. Said the Lord to the Filthy and Polluted (yea, w^o to her) to the Oppressing City; She obeyed not the Voice; She received not Correction, she trusted not in the Lord; she drew not near to her God: Her Princes within her are Roaring Lions, her Judges are Evening Wolves, they gnaw not the bones till the Morrow. Her Prophets are Light and Treacherous Persons: her Priests have polluted the Sanctuary, they have done Violence to the Law. I have cut off the Nations: their Towers are Desolate, I have made their Streets waste, that none passeth by; their Cities are destroyed, so that there is no man, there is no Habitation. I said, Surely thou wilt fear me; thou wilt receive Instruction; so their Dwelling should not be cut off, howsoever I punished them: but they rose early, and corrupted all their doings, Zeph. 3. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. your Case at this day.

The Case of Selling to pay Debts, weighed in the Balance of the Sanctuary.

Nor will that Pretence in your Order cover you, viz. the Paying of Debts, which was made upon the account of Debts, say you: And these being Debts (say you the Fines) and they having nor wherewithal, Therefore We Sell them for their Debts. For, to sell for Bondmen and Bondwomen, in no Case were the Israelites; nor to Rule over one another with Rigour, thou shalt not, &c. Ye shall not, &c. as aforesaid. And as for the selling that the Israelites might do, it was thus. If a Thief be found breaking up, and be smitten that he die, there shall no Blood be shed for him: If the Sun be risen upon him, there shall be Blood shed for him, for he should make full Restitution: If he have nothing, then he shall be sold for his Theft; Exod. 22. 2, 3. Were these such? Did ye take them breaking up, and stealing? then ye had something to say, and some pretence why ye should sell them; for that which they are found breaking up, and so stealing, if they should not have to make Restitution; for if the Thief that is so taken hath wherewithal, he is but to make Double Restitu-

tion,

tion, and his *Blood* is to be required if it be shed after the *Sun* is risen upon him. Here is the Case for *Selling* for *Theft*, and such Theft as this : But for *Selling* for *Debt*, I know none.

Now what is this as to the Justification of *your* selling of these to answer your *Fines*, which you laid upon *them*, when the *Law* of God layes none ? and for *Meeting* together, which they that feared the Lord often did, and spake often one to another ; and the Lord hearkened and heard, and a *Book* of Remembrance was written before him for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon his Name : And they shall be mine, saith the Lord of Hosts in that day, when I make up my Jewels, and I will spare them as a man spareth his own son that serveth him. And this was when the Proud were called Happy ; yea, when they that work'd wickedness were set up ; and they that tempted God were even delivered, Mal. 3. 15, 16, 17. Read the Place, and your selves, and them therein. And not forsaking the Assembling of Your selves together, as the manner of some is (said the Apostle to the True Church of Christ which is in God) but Exhorting one another, by how much the more as you see the day approaching, Heb. 10. 25. And they met every first Day of the Week at Corinth. And at Troas on the first Day of the Week. And the same Day at Evening, being the first Day of the Week, when the Doors were shut where the Disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews, came Jesus and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you : and when he had so said, he shewed them his Hand, and his Side, Joh. 20. 19, 20. And they withdrew from the Temple, after Jesus was risen, and met together from house to house, and denied the Temple, which was commanded of God ; And those among the Gentiles that were converted, denied the Idols Temples, and met not in them ; Yet were not the One or the Other fined, and after such a manner as ye have done to the Servants of the Lord, and for speaking one to another as aforesaid ; and for meeting together, ransacking their Estates, breaking open their Houses, carrying away their Goods and Cattel, till ye have left none ; then their wearing Apparel, and then (as in Plimouth Government) their Land ; and when ye have left them nothing, sell them for this which ye call Debt. Search the Records of former Ages, go through the Histories of the Generations that are past ; read the Monuments of the Antients, and see if ever

there were such a thing as this, since the Earth was laid, and the Foundations thereof in the *VV*ater, and out of the *VV*ater. But it is first found on you to a People who are *harmless*, who are *Innocent*, who *defraud* not, nor *oppress*, nor do others wrong; *Your Brethren*, of *Your selves*, of the *same Nation* and *Country*, at the *same distance* from *your Native Country*, *Inhabitants* long together in the *Country*, where ye are known one to another, and to be of *unblamable Conversations*, *Fellow-sufferers*, and in the *same Condemnation*. O Ye Rulers of *Boston*? Ye *Inhabitants* of the *Massachusetts*? What shall I say unto you? whereunto shall I liken ye? Indeed, I am at a stand, I have no Nation with you to compare, I have no People with you to parallel, I am at a loss with you in this Point; I must say of you, as *Balaam* said of *Amalek* when his Eyes were open, *Boston*, the first of the Nations that came out thus to war against, to stop *Israel* in their way to *Canaan* from *Egypt*: but your latter end shall be, that ye *Perish for ever*; So is your Judgment from the Lord.

And now I have done with You as to this, only I shall declare the Execution of your Warrant on the said *Daniel Southick* and *Provided Southick*. *Provided*, whom *Edmond Batter* (a bloody wicked man, one fit for your purpose, who hath *hunted*, *haled*, and *ransack'd* the People of the Lord with the highest Cruelty) sent your Marshal for, who fetch't them accordingly, and sought out for Passage to some that were bound to *Barbados* to send them there for *Sale*, as men sell Goods, to fill his Purse who was your Treasurer; but the Man to whom he spake would not carry them on that account (a thing so horrible!) and One of them to try *Batter* said — That they would spoil all the Vessels Company — laying that as an Argument why he would not carry them: Oh no (said *Batter*) you need not fear that, for they are poor harmless Creatures, and will not hurt any body (or words to this purpose;) Will they not so (said the Ship-master) and will ye offer to make Slaves of so harmless Creatures? So *Batter* sent them home again to live of themselves (as he used to let their Cattel which he took for *Fines* feed upon them all the Winter till the Spring, when they should make benefit of them, to answer their chargeable being in the Winter) till he could get a Convenient Opportunity to send them away.

And whilst I am hereupon, let me give you the Instance of

Two more, viz. *Edward Whariton* and *Samuel Gaskin*, who were *Edw. Whariton*
 Attested for not coming to *Your* Meetings, and had to *Ipswich* *Sam. Gaskin.*
 Court, and fined, the One *Five pounds Ten shillings*, and the
 Other, *Eight pounds*; One of which being a *young man*, and ha-
 ving no Visible Estate appearing, *William Hathorne* advised
 (though he was but an Assistant in the Court-) and gave Judg-
 ment against him, That if he had not so, nor would pay, they must
 send him to *Barbados*, and sell him to pay it; and this was when
 the Court knew not on what to levie the *Five*. And this the
 said *Hathorne*, of whom I have before spoken, who turn'd from
 the Tenderness that was once in him, to please you, to get an
 Employment wherby to live, and having got it, thus turn'd
 against his tender Principle, and his Friends, to whom once he
 was tender; to sell them for Slaves, as he did in other Parti-
 culars. One of which I shall instance in a Warrant under his
 Hand, sent to the Constable of *Salem*, in these words, — *You are*
required by Verens hereof, to search in all suspicious houses for Pri-
vat Meetings; and if they refuse to open the Doors, you are to break
open the Door upon them, and return the Names of all ye find to Ips-
wich Court. *William Hathorne.* — But at this time he
 mist, though he shall not miss his Judgment from the Hand of
 the Lord, who will assuredly meet with him, and give him his
 Portion with the rest of those who persecute his Truth, who once
 had a Tender Principle in them, and now turn against it (the
 Case of all you at this day) yea, it will be more tolerable for
Sodom and Gomorrah in the Day of Judgment than for You. So
 take your Judgment together, ye who have been together in
 causing the Innocent to suffer.

Thus have I traced you through this Long and Crooked Path
 of Cruelty and Blood, as well for the clearing of the Innocent (viz.
 those among you who have not consented to, but in their Place
 have opposed and withstood, and testified against your Proceed-
 ings unto Blood, That the Righteous may be separated from
 the Wicked in the Great Day of the Lord, which is near at hand,
 who will render to every man according to his Deeds; and that the
 Struggle this thing met withal in its bringing forth, and who
 were the Fathers, Fountains, and bringers of it on, and thorow
 (the Priests and You) may be made manifest. I shal now proceed
 to what Ye did to the Strangers as well as to the Inhabitants,

and how ye did not only Banish, but indeed, Put to Death.

*Proceedings
unto Death.*

These were the Men of the Country (whom I mentioned before) with whom ye proceeded as to Banishment upon Pain of Death, and upon whom ye began; But these were not all, but with others, Natives of England, accounted Strangers by you, ye proceeded as with the Inhabitants, yea, and also put to Death, as I shall shew by and by; for the Lord God of Life and Power, who gives unto all Men Life, and Breath, and Moving, who is the Lord of Heaven and Earth, and doth whatsoever He pleaseth in them both, And who shall say unto Him, *What doest Thou?* Who saith to the North, Give up, and to the South, Keep not back, &c. Bring my Sons from far, and my Daughters from the Ends of the Earth, Could not be limited by you, whose Breath is in your Nostrils, who are but Dust, and whom in a moment He can turn into Dust; Nor be restrained by your Laws, which were made in your Wills, to persecute the Just; But the stronger ye made your Laws, and the more Cruel ye became, the more He weakned you by his Power in his Servants, who went thorow Banishment and Death; And the more ye sought to keep Him under, the more He rose up amongst you in His Servants, and broke your Bonds and burst your Cords asunder; and ye were mistaken who thought, that by such things His Purpose could be disannulled, or His Counsel be kept from being brought to Pass, Though He suffered ye thus to do for the filling up your Measure, and the making bare his Arm, and the manifesting of the Glory of his Power, who is bringing great and mighty things to pass: to whom be Glory and Praise, and Dominion for ever.

So Death was the Thing ye aimed at, and their Blood ye would have, and their Blood ye had, and the Lord suffered ye so to do, to try you and to prove you, and to let the World see how far Profession will go without the Power of Godliness. So saith your Declaration, —Which Sentence (viz. of Banishment upon Pain of Death) being regularly pronounced at the last Court of Assistants against the Parties above named, and they either returning, or continuing presumptuously in this Jurisdiction, after their time limited, were Apprehended; and Owning of themselves to be the Persons banished, were sentenc'd (by Court) to Death, according to the Law aforesaid, which hath been Executed upon Two of them, Mary Dyar

Dyar (upon Petition of her Son, and the Mercy and Clemency of this Court) had liberty to depart within two dayes; which she hath accepted of—

Ans^r. Now I am come to the Bottom of your Work, and the Height of this your Gradual Proceeding from Banishment unto Death, and in the Instance of these Three Servants of the Lord, viz. *William Robinson*, *Marmaduke Stevenson*, and *Mary Dyar* (Two of whom, viz. *William Robinson* and *Marmaduke Stevenson* ye confess to have Executed, and the Third, viz. *Mary Dyar*, to have sentenc'd to Death, but Reprieved, whom since ye have put to Death) the Relation of whose Sufferings I shall proceed unto, and the Merits of their Deaths, and then reason with you for the Price of their Sufferings.

William Robinson of London, Merchant, and *Marmaduke Stevenson* of the East part of *York-shire*, Country-man, being 4th Moneth, moved of the Lord in the Fourth Month, 1659. to go from *Rhoad Island* into Your Jurisdiction, came thither accordingly, whom ye soon apprehended, and with them one *Nicholas Davis* (who came from *Plimmouth Patent* (of which he was) to reckon with those with whom he traded in *Boston*, and to pay some Debts) and *Patience Scot* (a Girl of about Eleven years old, whose business to you-wards from her Father's house in *Providence*, was, to bear Witness against your persecuting spirit) and sent them to Prison, there to remain until the sitting of the Court of Assistants; during which time *Mary Dyar* aforesaid, was moved of the Lord to come from *Rhoad Island* to visit the Prisoners, whom ye Imprisoned also; and at the sitting of the said Court of Assistants, banished (together with *W. Robinson* and *M. Stevenson*, and *Nicholas Davis*, upon Pain of Death (the Child it seems was not of years as to Law so as to deal with her by Banishment, but otherwise in Understanding, for she confounded ye all; and some of ye confess that ye had many Children, and they had been well Educated, and that it were well if they could say half so much for God, as she could for the Devil (so ye Blasphemed the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Truth that spake in her, saying it was an Unclean Spirit: For saith the Son of God, All Sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and Blasphemies wherewithsoever they shall blaspheme: But he that shall blaspheme the Holy Ghost hath never forgiveness, but is in danger of Eternal Condem-

W. Robinson,
M. Stevenson,
Mary Dyar banish'd, and afterwards put to Death.

Nich. Davis banish'd on pain of Death.

Patience Scot, a Girl of about 11 years old, Daughter to *Katherin Scot* aforesaid.
Mary Dyar.

14th day 7th
Month, 1659

Nich. Uphall

Condemnation, Because they said he had an Unclean Spirit. (For they said He cast out Devils by Beelzebub the Prince of the Devils, and that he had a Devil) Mark 3. 22. to the 31.) After the *Fourteenth* of the *Seventh* Month following they should be found in *your* Jurisdiction. And *Nicholae Uphall* (the Old Man whom ye imprisoned, and fined, and banished with such Cruelty as aforesaid) returning after the space of *Three* years Banishment to *Boston* again to his Wife and Family, about the time of the sitting of this Court, as it was laid upon him by the Lord, ye cast into Prison there to remain till he acknowledged his Offence (who only bore a sober Witness against your *Persecuting Law*, as a *Freeman of Boston*) after that your Deputy Governor charged him with *denying Relations*, in not coming to his Wife and Children in all that space of time (when as ye had banished him from them upon pain of perpetual Imprisonment, if he came back again: a wicked thing so to charge him for the suffering of that which ye had done unto him; to make him to suffer, and then to charge him for so doing) To which he answered, — *Was not thou, and the rest of you here, the cause of it? who banished me so, that if I did return I must be kept in Prison till I did acknowledge my Offence, which was for bearing witness against a wicked and unrighteous Law, made to persecute the Saints of Jesus Christ: Then ye sent me to the Gen. Court, where I declared unto you, That the Prosecution of that Law would be a Fore-runner of a Judgment on the Country. Therefore I said in tenderness of Love which I bear to the People and Country, I did humbly desire you to take heed what ye did, lest ye should be found fighters against God; and it had been good for ye that ye had attended to it. And so it had, and you will find it so in the End, when that Day is come upon You, and the things are fulfilled which he in the Spirit of Prophecy spake to you; Then ye will know that he spake not in Vain, and that it had been your Wisdom to have Hearkned whilst ye had time: but now (as I have said unto you in the Word of the Lord, Your Day is Over, and the things that are coming upon you make haste. The Blood of the Innocent cries loud against you, and the Lord is near to avenge it; the Fruits of that Law, which took so with the Old Man, and which he bore Testimony against, and spake so of, and whose Sufferings the Lord will recompence on you, who have cast him now into*

Prison

Prison again, where he remains to this day, born up by the Lord to bear your Cruelty, that your Measure may be filled to the full: For, such a thing hath been hardly heard of, that Men should take such an *Aged Man*, as he who hath scarce a Tooth (if any) in his Head, whose Provision of Meat is scraped into a Spoon for him to receive (as I have said) wherewithal to Nourish him; and to Fine and Banish him, as aforesaid, in such a season of the year, as the beginning of Winter, from his Aged Wife, and his Children, and upon his Return (after Three Years or thereabouts) to charge him for denying of Relations, in not Coming unto his Wife and Children in all that space of time, when ye had banished him from them; and being come unto them, to take him from them whom ye had so charged, even as soon as ye had charged him, and to keep him in Prison; and all this for no other thing than for bearing Testimony, and speaking to you as aforesaid (for which, as I have said, what Law have you?) What Cruelty is this, and how scarcely to be parallel'd in former Ages? But these things are found upon you, whom no Mercy moves, nor Bowels melt, who are as hard as the Adamant; who have sold your selves to do wickedly; whose End (as I have said) is come, and the Measure of your Iniquity.

Thus of the Old Man. But as for the Four afore-mentioned, on the Twelfth day of the Seventh Month (two dayes before the Expiration of the Time limited by you, after which, if found in your Jurisdiction, they should suffer Death (What hard measure is here, to allow a Man but Two dayes to remove for his Life, and upon so slight an Account, or rather none at all?) It caused to be turned out of Prison to try your Law upon them; Two of whom (viz. Nicholas Davis and Mary Djar) found freedom to depart your Jurisdiction, the One to Plimmouth Patent, the Other to Rhoad Island; but the other Two (viz. W. Robinson, and M. Stevenson) were constrained in the Love and Power of the Lord, not to depart, but to stay in your Jurisdiction, and to try your bloody Law unto Death: So they passed out of Prison on the Thirteenth to Salem, and Remained there, and at Piscataway, and the parts thereabouts in the Service of the Lord, till ye took them up: Your Cruelty towards them when ye sentenc'd them to Banishment, being such, and your Monstrous Inhumanity, that

a Hand-

12th day, 7th
Month, 1639.

Nichol Davis.
Mary Djar.

W. Robinson.
M. Stevenson.

W. Robinson
stop't from
speaking for
himself by a
Handkerchief
thrust into his
mouth, and at-
tempting yet
to speak, was
had down and
given Twenty
cruel Lashes
with a Three-
fold Corded
Whip.

a Handkerchief was put into one of their Mouthes to keep them, from Speaking for themselves (which all Law allows) and when he yet attempted to speak (*viz. W. Robinson*) ye caus'd him to be had down in a great Rage, and to be given him Twenty cruel stripes, with a Threefold Corded Whip with Knots, on his naked Back, and then had him up, and sent him to Prison, together with his fellow-sufferer *M. Stevenson* in Order to Death, if they were found again in your Jurisdiction after the Limitation of the *dayes* set them by you to go forth. Such Inhumanities as these have hardly been heard of in any Generation where men have pretended to Law or Truth, but are found upon thee, O New England! and the Head of thy Colonies, the Bay of Massachusetts!

13th. of the
7th. Moneth,
1659.
Christopher
Holder.

Now the same Day that the Four aforesaid were put out, *Christopher Holder* aforesaid was cast into Prison, whom (coming to seek a Passage from Boston to England, which he was moved to of the Lord) ye there kept. One while Banishing men out who come into your Jurisdiction upon pain of Death, and another while keeping some in Prison, and Banishing them afterwards, who come to Pass out. Such Monstrous Contradictions are hardly found among Men who pretend to understanding, and are not worse than Beasts, who know not when they go forwards, or backwards; So greatly hath Envy blinded your minds, and Rage your Judgements. Him (*viz. the said Christopher*) so come in as aforesaid) Your Deputy Governour Committed, and him you Detained in Prison till the middle of the 9th. Moneth following, and Banished him upon pain of Death, if he should be found within your Jurisdiction Three dayes after the next Ships departure for England from your Harbour, who came to Pass from your Harbour unto England; and this because he asked ye not first, leave so to come in; (a hard sentence for such a Misprision, Suppose he should have done so) who had no Law to keep him out from Passing to England.

8th. of the
8th. Moneth,
1659.
Mary Dier.
Hope Clifton.

Not long after, (*viz. the 8th. of the 8th. Moneth following*) *Mary Dier* aforesaid (whom ye Banished upon pain of Death) came to Boston (see how the Lord brought them together) and *Hope Clifton*, both of Rhoad Island; Who coming to visit *Christopher Holder*, then in Prison, on the First day of the Week

Week (being the next morning after they came in) they were soon espied standing at the Window, and carried to the house of Correction by the Constable ; who coming again after *your* Worship was ended (having no doubt had his Instructions) charged the *Keeper* Body for Body, *Life for Life* with *Mary Dier* till further Order. So *Mary* was continued without being sent for, but *Hope Clifton* was the next Morning had before *your* Deputy Governour, who recommitted her, & one *M. Scot*, Daughter to *R. Scot*, and *Katherine* of *Providence* aforesaid, who came also to visit the said *Christopher* in Prison, whom the same Constable apprehended as she was in the Prison to Visit her Friend ; And *Robert Harper* of *Sandwich* (though he came about his Outward Occasions) *your* Governour Committed also the One to the Prison, the Other to the House of Correction.

And now the time drawing near of the sitting of *your* Court, wherein you acted this Bloody Tragedy, *W. Robinson* and *M. Stevenson* came to *Boston*, viz. on the thirteenth of the eighth Moneth, and with them *Alice Cowland*, (who was moved of the Lord to bring *Linnen* wherein to wrap the dead Bodies of them who were to Suffer) and *Daniel Gold* from *Salem* ; and *William King*, *Hannah Phelps*, (the Wife of *Nicholas* aforesaid) and *Mary Trask*, and *Margaret Smith* of the same Town. These all came together, as aforesaid, in the Moving and Power of the Lord, as One Man, to look *your* Bloody Laws in the face, and to try them, and to accompany those who should suffer by them ; Whom ye apprehended and sent to Prison, as aforesaid, and Provided *Southick* Daughter to *Lawrence* and *Cassandra Southick* aforesaid ; Who coming to see her sister then in Prison, and being met with all in the street, and known by *your* Deputy Governour, and asked by him, Whether she was a *Quaker*, and she Replying, That she was one that was so called ; He Committed her also.

So *your* Prisons began to fill, and the time drew near of the sitting of *your* Court, as aforesaid, before whom on the nineteenth of the same Moneth, *W. Robinson*, and *M. Stevenson*, and *Mary Dier* were had before *your* Court, and Demanded by you *M. Dier*, Why they came again into *your* Jurisdiction, being Banished upon pain of Death ? To which having severally Answered, and Declared the Ground or Cause of their coming in as from the Lord,

11th of the 8th Moneth, 1659.
W. Robinson.
M. Stevenson.
Alice Cowland
Daniel Gold.
of Rhoadsland
W. King.
Hannah Phelps
Mary Trask
Margaret Smith.
Prov. Southick

Robert Harper.

15th of the 8th Moneth, 1659.
W. Robinson.
M. Stevenson.
M. Dier.
had before the Court.

and in Obedience to him (upon your Governours saying, that he desired not their Death, and that they had Liberty to speak for themselves, why they should not be Proceeded with as to the giving sentence against them) He bad the Goaler take them away.

20th. of the
8th. Moneth,
1659.

The next day after your Worship was ended, being heated by your Priest, and prepared to shed the Blood of the Innocent, you sent for them again, and (speaking faintly as a man whose Life was Departing from him, for the hand of the Lord was upon him) Your Governor said to this Effect, *We have made many Laws, and endeavoured by Several ways to keep ye from us, and neither Whipping, nor Imprisonment, nor cutting off Ears, nor Banishment upon pain of Death, will keep ye from among us: — And he said, I Desire not your Death, — Yet presently he said, Give Ear and Harken to your Sentence of Death, and then made a stop. Whereupon W. Robinson desired that he might be suffered to Read a Paper amongst them, (which was a Declaration of his Call to Boston, and the Reason why they staid in that Jurisdiction after your Sentence of Banishment) which your Governor denied, and said in a great Rage — *You shall not read it, nor will the Court hear it Read —* Then W. Robinson laid it on the Table among them, and it was handed to your Governour, who Read it to himself, and after he had done, said, — *W. Robinson, you need not keep such an adoe to have it Read, for ye spoke Yesterday more than here is Prison* (which was not so, and if it had been, yet a man may be permitted to speak the same Words over again, and the Law Allows it, viz. for a Man to speak for himself ere Sentence is given, and the Clerks of the Court usually Proclaim that Liberty, but you would not) *W. Robinson said, Nay, he had not, and desired again it might be Read, that all the People might hear the Cause of their Coming, and of their stay there, and wherefore they were put to Death, — which was (as I have said) what the Law Allowed; But you would not suffer it (a very hard Case, you would not be so dealt with, yet so ye have dealt with the Innocent,) and your Governor said to him, — Harken to your Sentence of Death, — You shall be had back to the Place from whence you came, and from thence to the place of Execution to be hanged on the Gallows till you are Dead.**

W. Robinson
sentenced to
Death.

Then M. Stevenson was called, and your Governor said to him,

him; ~~and~~ if you have any thing to say you may speak. — Who stand-
 ing still, and giving him no Answer (for the Lord had shut him
 up) your Governor Pronounced the *Sentences of Death* against
 him. Saying, — You shall be had to the Place from whence you
 came, and from thence to the Gallows, and there be hanged till you
 are dead. — Which being Pronounced, *M. Stevensons* Mouth was
 opened by the Lord, and he said, — Give ear ye *Magistrats* and
 all who are guilty, for this the Lord hath said concerning you, who
 will perform His Word upon you, That the same day ye put His ser-
 vants to death, shall be the Day of your Visitation past over your heads,
 and you shall be Curs'd for evermore. The mouth of the Lord of Hosts
 hath spoken this: Therefore in love to you all, I exhorte you to take
 warning before it be too late, that so the Curse may be removed; For
 assuredly if you put me to death, you will bring Innocent Blood upon
 your own heads, and swift destruction will come upon you. — After he
 had spoken which he was had to Prison:

Then *Mary Dier* was called, and your Governor said to her,
 to this effect, — *Mary Dier* you shall go to the Place whence you
 came, namely the Prison, and from thence to the Place of Execution,
 and be hanged there until you are dead; — To which she Replied,
 The will of the Lord be done. — Then your Governor said, Take
 her away *Marshal*; she Answered, Yea joyfully shall I go. — So she
 was brought to the House of Correction again, and there con-
 tinued with her other Two Friends in Prison, till the 27th.
 of the same Moneth; during which time many People resorted
 to the Prison windows (for the thing struck among them) which
 struck such a fear in you, where no fear was (for they would not
 have broken a Thread to have gone out, nor push'd down a straw)
 that ye set a Guard about the Prison by Night lest they should
 be taken away, and on *W. Robinson*, and *M. Stevenson*, ye put
 Chains of Iron. And on the 27th. of the 8th. Moneth aforesaid,
 Ye Caused the Drums to beat to gather your Souldiers together
 for the Execution; & after your Worship was ended, your Drums
 beat again, and your Captain *James Oliver* came with his Band
 of men, and the *Marshal*, and some others to the Prison, and
 the Doors were Opened, and your *Marshal*, and *Jaylor* called
 for *W. Robinson*, and *M. Stevenson*, and had them out of the
 Prison; and *Mary Dier* out of the House of Correction, who
 having parted from their Friends in Prison full of the Joy of the

M. Stevenson
 sentenced to
 Death.

The Sentence
 of the Lord by
 him, upon
 those who
 should be guil-
 ty of their
 Blood in pur-
 ing them to
 Death.

Mary Dier
 sentenced to
 Death.

27th. of the
 8th. Moneth,
 1659.

The People
 flock to the
 Prison.

A Guard set on
 it by Night,
 and Iron on
William and
Marmaduke.
 They are cal-
 led forth.

And take
 leave of their
 fellow Prison-
 ers.

Lord who had counted *them* worthy to suffer for *his* Name; and kept *them* faithful to the *Death*, and having Embraced each other with *Fervency* of Love, and gladness of hearts, and peace with God, and praises to the Lord; Went out of your Prisons like *Innocent* Lambs out of the *Butchers* Cub to the *Slaughter*; and your Captain with his Band of *Men* led *them* the *Back* way (it seems you were afraid of the *Fore*, lest it should touch too much the People) to the Place of Execution, and caused the *Drums* to beat when they attempted to speak (*hard* work) and plac'd them near the *Drums* for that purpose, that when *they* spake the People might not hear them, who in great multitudes flocked about them (as *ye* used to Imprison any that *you* took looking in at the Prison Window, when they were there, to visit *them*, thinking thereby to keep the *Seed* of God under, and *them* from having a Place in the People, but the more *ye* strove to hinder, the more it went under (to wit, the *Message* that they brought) and had place in *their* hearts, and the more Cruel *ye* were, the Deeper it took place, which in due time will come forth, and make manifest it self, after the first-fruits are tried, and found to *Praise* and *Honour*, who shall be as *Leaders* to *his* People, and as *those* that go *before* to shew that *Immortality* is able to bear through the *Sufferings* of the *Mortal*, and that *which* changeth not, that *which* fadeth away, and withereth) I say, your Capt. caused *his* Drums to Beat when *they* sought to speak, and *his* Drums he would not cease, though *they* spake unto *him*, whilst they ceased not to speak, (A *Barbarous* *Inhumanity* never heard of in the *English* Nation to be used to *Suffering* People) and as he led them to the Place of Execution, Your Old Bloody-Priest *Wilson*, Your High Priest of Boston (who was so Old in Blood, that he would have had *Samuel* *Gorton*, (to go no higher) and *those* with him, long ago to be put to *Death*, for their differing in Religion; and when but *One* Vote parted it, was so mad, that he openly inveighed against *them*, who did it, Saying in the Pulpit, *Because* thou hast let go the man, whom I have appointed to Destruction, Thy life shall go for his life, and thy People for his People, — Preaching from that Text. Who said, — He would carry Fire in One hand, and Faggots in the Other, to Burn all the Quakers in the World. — Who brought some of those Peoples Books in his hand, as they were burning the Books of Friends by

Your

and are led to
place of Exe-
cution,

And are met
with in the
way by Priest
Wilson, &c.

Your Order, threw them in the Fire, saying, — *From the Devil they came, (Blasphemous Wretch!) and to the Devil let them go; — He who said to ye when ye sat on the Blood of these men, — Hang them, or else (drawing his finger athwart his Throat) so making Signes for it to be cut if ye did it not) I say this your Bloody Old High Priest with others of his Brethren in Iniquity, and in persecuting the Just, met them in your Train Field, and in stead of having a sence upon him suitable to such an Occasion, and as is Usual with men of any tenderness; he fell a Taunting at W. Robinson, and shaking his hand in a light scoffing manner, said, — Shall such Jacks as you come in before Authority with your Hats on? — with many other wicked words. To which W. Robinson Replied — Mind you, Mind you, It is for the not putting off the Hat we are put to Death. — And when W. Robinson went chearfully up the Ladder, to the Topmost Rung above the Gallows, and spake to the People, — That this they suffered not as Evil Doers, but as those who Testified and Manifested the Truth, and that this was the day of their Visitation, and therefore desired them to mind the Light that was in them, the Light of Christ, of which he Testified, and was now going to Seal it with his Blood. — This Old Priest in much Wickedness said, — Hold thy tongue, be silent, Thou art going to Die with a Lie in thy mouth. — When he spake of the Light of Christ within, of which he had Testified, which testified against evil, as that which was sufficient to bring unto God, and for the Testimony of which he then Suffered.*

Taunted
by him.

So being come to the Place of Execution, hand in hand, all Three of them, as to a Wedding Day, with great chearfulness of heart; and having taken Leave of each other with the dear Embraces of one anothers Love in the Love of the Lord, Your Executioner put W. Robinson to Death, and after him M. Steven-
son, who died both of them full of the Joy of the Lord, and steadfast in him, and have received a Crown of Life, Sealing their Testimony with their Blood, (which was the most that could be done) their Countenances not changing (though the Priests thought to have found it Otherwise, and had some of them spoken to this purpose, that they should see whether they would change countenance; when they had a Halber about their necks) but remained as fresh (in a manner) even after they were dead, as they were before, (as was observed by some)

And are Executed, viz. W. Robinson and M. Steven-son.

unto

And their dead
Bodies cut
down, and let
fall to the
breaking
of one of their
skuls.
And cast na-
ked into a Pit
withour a
covering.

And there left
in a Pit in the
open Field,
whose Cover-
in was soon of
Water.
And then
Priest Wilson
made a Song
of them.

unto whose Bodies being *dead* your Executioner was so Barbe-
rous, and your Officers, and so wicked your said Priest; That
when their dead Bodies were cut down, they were suffered
to fall to the Ground, with which the *skul* of *W. Robinson* was
broke, his Body it being stiffe ere it was cut down; and when
they were down, their shirts were ripped off with a knife, and
their *naked* Bodies cast into a hole of the *Earth*, which was dig-
ged, without *any* Covering; and when some friends came and
desired their Bodies to be put into Coffins, and so into some
inclosed Ground where Beasts might not turn them up, your Ex-
ecutioner suffered them to take them up, and to wrap them in
Linnen, and to put them in again, but to take them away he suf-
fered them not, saying, — *He was strictly charged by you* (which
was worse than *Pilate*, who gave unto *Joseph* the Body of *Jesus*,
when he desired it) *to the contrary* : And when a Friend had
caused *Pales* to be brought, to fence the Place, into which they
were cast, that so their Bodies might not be preyed upon by the
Beast Creatures, seeing you would not suffer them to be remo-
ved, he would not suffer it; but there left their Bodies together
in a Pit in an open Field, which was soon covered with *Water*;
and to make up all, when they were thus Martyr'd by your Or-
der, Your said Priest Wilson made a Ballade of those whom ye had
Martyr'd.

Thus have I led you through your Deeds of Darkness, and
laid your Blood-guiltiness in Order before you, and your other
Cruelties, and Monstrous Barbarism's to the Innocent, which shall
not depart from your House for Ever, the Lord hath spoken it, but
shall be visited upon you, when time shall be no more, for the Hour of
your Visitation is Over, as was told ye by *M. Stevenson*, (after
you had past this sentence it should, if ye put them to Death,
(in the Word of the Lord) and ye have put them to Death,
and in that Despight, and with that Cruelty as aforesaid; And
after that Barbarous manner, and the Hour of your Visitation is
past (You who had to do in the thing) I speak it from, and in
the Word of the Lord; The Decree is sealed, it is done it cannot be
revoked.

And because *Fury* rose up in your Governor, and the Form of
his Visage was changed like *Nebuchadnezzar's*, when *W. Robin-
son* desired his Paper might be Read, as what he had to say as to
the

the Cause of his Coming, and abiding in your Jurisdiction, when he was bid to speak if he had any thing to say, wherefore you should not proceed to give Sentence against him, for his so coming in, as to Death; Unto which your Governor said, It should not be Read, and that ye would not hear it, and so in effect forbad that, which he bad him. I shall set down the Contents thereof, and of M. Stevenson's Call into your Parts, for which ye put him to Death, as a Perpetual Record to after Ages, of that for which they Suffered, and your shame Everlasting. For it shall rise up in You a Worm that shall never Die, and a Fire that shall never go out: The mouth of the Lord of Hosts hath spoken it.

William Robinson's Paper to the Court before he was Sentenced to death, concerning the Cause of their coming into those Parts, for which they were put to Death, which the Governor in a great Fury said, should not be Read, and that the Court would not hear it.

Which was in these Words.

ON the Eighth Day of the Eighth Moneth, 1659. in the after part of the day, in Travelling betwixt Newport in Rhoad Island, and Daniel Gold's Hoofe, with my dear Brother, Christopher Holder, The Word of the Lord came expressly to me, which did fill me immediately with Life and Power, and heavenly Love, by which he constrained me, and commanded me to pass to the Towne of Boston, my Life to lay down in His Will, for the Accomplishing of His Service, that He bad there to Perform at the day appointed. To which Heavenly Voice I presently yielded Obedience, not questioning the Lord how he would bring the Thing

W. Robinsons
Paper to the
Court.

Thing to pass, being I was a Child, and Obedience was Demanded of me by the Lord, who filled me with living Strength and Power from his Heavenly Presence, which at that time did mightily Overshadow me, and my Life at that time did say Amen, to what the Lord required of me, and had Commanded me to do, and willingly was I given up from that time to this day the Will of the Lord to do and perform, what ever became of my Body : For the Lord had said unto me, My Soul shall rest in everlasting Peace, and my Life shall enter into Rest for being Obedient to the God of my Life ; I being a Child, and durst not question the Lord in the least, but rather willing to lay down my Life, than to bring Dishonor to the Lord ; And as the Lord made me willing, dealing gently and kindly with me, as a tender Father by a Faithful Child, whom he dearly Loves, so the Lord did deal with me in Ministering his Life unto me, which gave and gives me strength to Perform what the Lord required of me, and still as I did and do stand in need he Ministered and Ministereth more Strength, and Vertue, and Heavenly Power, and Wisdom, whereby I was and am made Strong in God, not fearing what man shall be suffered to do unto me ; Being filled with Heavenly Courage, which is Meekness, and Innocency, for the Cause is the Lord's that we go in, and the Battel is the Lord's, and thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the Mighty and the Terrible God, Not by Strength, nor by Might, nor by Power of Man, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts, I will perform what my mouth hath spoken through my Servants whom I have chosen, mine Elect in whom my soul delighteth. Friends the God of my Life, and the God of the whole Earth, did Lay this thing upon me, for which I now suffer Bonds near unto death : He by his Almighty Power, and Everlasting Love constrained me, and laid this thing upon me, and truly I could not deny the

the Lord, much less Resist the Holy One of Israel. Therefore all who are Ignorant of the Motion of the Lord in the Inward Parts; be not hasty in Judging in this matter, least ye speak evil of the things ye know not; For, of a Truth the Lord God of Heaven and Earth Commanded me by his Spirit, and spake unto me by his Son, whom he hath made Heir of all things; and in his Life I live, and in it I shall Depart this Earthly Tabernacle, if unmerciful men be suffered to take it from me. And herein I rejoyce that the Lord is with me, the Ancient of dayes, the Life of the Suffering Seed, for which I am freely given up, and singly do I stand in the will of God, for to me to live is Christ, and to die is Gain; and truly I have a great desire, and will to die herein, knowing that the Lord is with me, what ever Ignorant men shall be able to say against me; for the witness of the Spirit I have received, and the Presence of the Lord, and his heavenly Life doth accompany me, so that I can say in Truth and from an upright heart, Blessed be the Lord God of my Life, who hath counted me Worthy, and called me hereunto, to bear my Testimony against ungodly and unrighteous men, who seek to take away the Life of the righteous without a Cause, as the Rulers of Massachusetts Bay do intend, if the Lord stop them not from their Intent. Oh hear ye Rulers, and give ear and listen all ye that have any hand herein to put the Innocent to Death; For, in the Name, and Fear, and Dread of the Lord God I here Declare the Cause of my staying here among ye, and continuing in the Jurisdiction after there was a Sentence of Banishment upon Death, as ye said, Pronounced against me without a Just Cause, as ye all know, that we that were Banished, committed nothing worthy of Banishment, nor of any Punishment, much less Banishment upon Death. And now ye Rulers, Ye do intend to put me to Death, and my

Companion, unto whom the Word of the Lord God came saying, Go to Boston with thy Brother W. Robinson: Unto which Command he was obedient, who had said unto him, he had a great Work for him to do: Which thing is now seen, and the Lord is now a doing of it, and it is in Obedience to the Lord, the God of the whole Earth, that we continued amongst Te, and that we came to the Town of Boston again, in Obedience to the Lord the Creator of Heaven and Earth, in whose hand your Breath is: And will ye put us to Death for Obeying the Lord, the God of the whole Earth? Well, if ye do this Act, and put us to Death: Know this, and be it known unto you all, ye Rulers and People within this Jurisdiction, That whosoever hath a hand herein, will be Guilty of Innocent Blood. And nor onely upon your selves will ye bring Innocent Blood, but upon the Town and the Inhabitants thereof, and every where within your Jurisdiction, that had the least hand therein. Therefore be instructed ye Rulers of this Land, and take Warning betimes, and Learn Wisdom before it be hid from your Eyes.

Written in the Common
Goal, the 19th. of the
8th. Month 1659, in
Boston.

By One who feareth the Lord, who is
by Ignorant People called a Qua-
ker, and unto such am I only known
by the Name of William Robin-
son, yet a new Name have I re-
ceived which such know not.

Marm-

Marmaduke Stevenson's Paper of his Call to the Work and Service of the Lord. Given forth by him a little before he was put to Death, and after he had received his Sentence.

IN the beginning of the Year, 1655. I was at the Plough in the East Parts of York-shire in Old England, near the Place where my Outward being was, and as I walked after the Plough, I was filled with the Love and the Presence of the Living God, which did Ravish my Heart when I felt it; for it did increase and abound in me like a Living Stream, so did the Love and Life of God run thorow me like Precious Oynment, giving a pleasant Smell; which made me to stand still, and as I stood a little still with my heart and mind stayed on the Lord, the Word of the Lord came to me in a still small Voice, which I did hear perfectly, saying to me in the secret of my Heart and Conscience, —I have Ordained Thee a Prophet unto the Nations. — And at the hearing of the Word of the Lord, I was put to a stand, being that I was but a Child for such a Weighty Matter. So at the time appointed Barbados was set before me, unto which I was required of the Lord to Go; and leave my dear and loving Wife, and tender Children: for the Lord said unto me immediately by his Spirit, That He would be as a Husband to my Wife, and as a Father to my Children, and they should not want in my absence, for He would provide for them when I was gone. And I believed that the Lord would perform what He had spoken, because I was made willing to give up my self to his Work and Service, to leave All, and follow Him, whose Presence and Life is with me, where I rest in Peace and Quietness of Spirit (with my dear Brother) under the Shadow of His Wings, who hath made us willing to lay down Our Lives for his Own Name sake, if unmerciful Men be suf-

M. Stevenson's Account of his Call to Boston, for which he laid down his Life to be upon Record for all to know the Ground thereof, & therefore wrote by him, and left in the words within written.

*saied to take them from us; and if they do, We know We
 shall have Peace and Rest with the Lord for ever in His
 Holy Habitation, when they shall have Torment night and
 day. So in Obedience to the Living God I made prepara-
 tion to pass to Barbados in the Fourth Moneth, 1658. So
 after some time I had been on the said Island in the Ser-
 vice of God, I heard that New-England had made a Law
 to put the Servants of the Living God to Death, if they re-
 turned, after they were sentenc'd away, which did come
 near me at that time; and as I considered the Thing, and
 pondered it in my Heart, immediately came the Word of the
 Lord unto me, saying, —Thou knowest not but that
 Thou mayest go thither.— But I kept this Word in my
 Heart, and did not declare it to any until the time Ap-
 pointed. So after that a Vessel was made ready for Rhoad
 Island, which I passed in. So after a little time that I had
 been there, visiting the Seed which the Lord hath blessed, the
 Word of the Lord came unto me, saying, —Go to Boston
 with thy Brother William Robinson— And at His Com-
 mand I was obedient, and gave up my self to do His Will;
 that so His Work and Service may be accomplished: For
 He had said unto me, that He had a Great Work for me
 to do, which is now come to passe: And for yeelding Obe-
 dience to, and Obeying the Voice and Command of the Ever-
 living God, which created Heaven and Earth, and the
 Fountains of Waters, Do I with my dear Brother suffer
 Outward Bonds near unto Death. And this is given forth
 to be upon Record, that all People may know who hear it,
 That We came not in our Own Wills, but in the Will of
 God, Given forth by me, who am known to men by the
 Name of*

Marmaduke Stevenson.

Written in Boston-
 Prison in the 8th
 Month, 1659.

*But have a New Name given me, which
 the World knows not of, written in
 the Book of Life. Thus*

Thus they, and thus you, but as for *Mary Dyer* when she had parted joyfully with her Friends, between whom she came hand in hand joyfully to the Place of Execution (though your Marshal *Michaelfon* was troubled thereat, and asked *whether she was not ashamed to walk hand in hand between two young men?* (not knowing her Joy in the Lord) To whom she answered, — *It is the greatest Joy, and Hour, I can enjoy in this World* — With these words, — *No Eye can see, No Ear can hear, No Tongue can speak, No Heart can understand the sweet Incomes and Refreshings of the Spirit of the Lord which now I enjoy.* — I say, after she had parted joyfully with her Friends at the Foot of the Ladder, determined to dye, and saw her Two Friends dead, and hanging so before her, and had her Arms and Legs tied, and the Halter about her Neck, and her Face covered with a Handkerchief, which your Priest *Wilson* sent, the Hangman for her Execution; and was even with the Lord in Joy and Peace, and so as it were, out of the Body, an Order came from *Town* for her Reprieve upon the Petition of her Son, unknown to her, which being ready, and the Halter taken off her Neck, and she loosened, she was desired to come down; which she not answering (because she said to wait on the Lord to know his Pleasure in so sudden a Change, she having given up her self to dye as afore said, and being so near to it) the People cryed (for her Death they were against) — *Pull her down*; nor could she prevail with them to stay a little (so earnest were they) whilst she might consider and know of the Lord what to do; but Ladder and she they were pulling down together: In which they were stopt, and your Chief Marshal and others took her down by her two Arms, and had her to Prison; From whence she wrote to you, when she understood upon what Account she was Reprieved, Denying your Reprieve, and the Ground of it; and the next Morning tendered her Life again for the Abrogating of your Law; but she was not suffered, for some came presently, and took her forcibly in their Arms, and put her on Horseback, and with four Horses, besides Men, conveyed her away Fifteen Miles towards *Rhoad Island*, and then left her with a Horse and Man to be conveyed the rest, which she soon sent back, when she saw she might do it freely, and as of the Lord; for she was sensible how that her sudden Reprieve had served your End, in turning the

People

From whence People to you, who were turning from you in the Death of the she came again *Other*, which was in your Bottom, but the Lord otherwise in the *Will* of ordered it afterwards in suffering you to put her to Death after the Lord, and a *Reprieve*, and such a *One* as this, and after *such* a manner, suffered Death, and when she was so near the Execution, and as to her self, as hereafter is even *Out* of the Body in the Joy of the Lord (of which I shall to be shewn. speak more anon, and of your Cruelty) therefore He suffered this to be, and gave her Liberty to go from those parts to *Newport* in *Rhode Island* from whence she came.

The *Demeanor* of the People. But as for the People they returned from the Execution of the heavy and sad other Two, sad and with *heavie* hearts (those of them who were after the Ex- not sold unto wickedness) as *VV. Robinson* had said unto them 'cution' of the they should before his Decease; and a *Draw-Bridge* rose up (the Two former. one end of it, and fell upon many, and some were hurt, especi-

Two Examples ally a wicked Woman, who was an Enemy to these People, and of the Judge- was observ'd to have *Reviled* those *Servants* of the Lord at their ment of the Death; Whom it greatly bruised, and her Flesh rotted from her Lord on their bones, and her stink was so noisom, that People could hardly Enemies.

The one a Wo- come at her, in which miserable condition she remained till man that re- she dyed. A sad Example of the Vengeance of the Lord, who told them at the renders to every man according to his work. Three also of Priest Execution, on *VVilsons* Grand-children died within a short time after ye had whom a Draw- put these Two *Servants* of the Lord to Death; as something bridge fell up- upon his head, who cared not how he bereaved the Mother of on her return, her Son, and the Children of their Father, and the Wife of her and she dyed miserably. Husband. The Judgment of the Lord in both of which is to

The other, 3. be taken notice of. Grandchildren of Priest *Wil-* Thus have I gone through the Executions ye made of the sons, who dyed Innocent, and the Relation of your shedding of the Blood of those shortly after. who feared the Lord, who were in a Capacity by your Laws (as ye judged), for such Executions; I shall now return from your Field of Blood to your Bloody Prison, and there take an Account of what ye did to the rest of their Brethren, whom they there left behind.

And here by the way you may see the Insufficiency of your Gallows to restrain the Spirit of the Lord in this Remarkable Passage, to wit, of one *John Chamberlen*, one of your Inhabitants of *Boston*, being at the Execution of these aforesaid; who be-

beholding of *their* Faith and Constancy, and Comfort at their *Death*, in the *Innocency* of their *Cause*; whose heart there the Lord opened, to receive and imbrace the *Truth* for which *they* suffered; and in whom *Love* was raised towards the Sufferers, that it drew *him* to visit *those* then left in Prison; for the which he was Apprehended and put in Prison, and soon tasted of your Cruelty, who hath been much and long Imprisoned by *You*; and although still *you* have sorely shot at *him*, yet *his* Bow abides in strength, who was enabled to bear all your Cruelty, and stands a faithful Witness for the Lord, against *You*: By which *you* may see how insufficient your Endeavours are to stop the way and course of the Spirit of Life, which neither *Your Whips* nor your *Gallows* is able to reach.

There was one *Edward Wharton* of the Town of *Salem* in the first place, whom ye had Committed for going up and down from Town to Town with *those* two Servants of the Lord whom *Ye* had Murdered, Upon whom ye fastned; and because he could by no means own the Guilt of their Blood; Nay, not for all the World, as he said, when ye charged it upon him, and sought by Consequence to prove it; because (said you) he travelled with *them*; and because he said, *The Guilt thereof was so great and heavy that he was not able to bear it*, ye drew his Blood with Twenty fore Lashes with your Whip of Cords as aforesaid, and his Purse with Twenty Penns Fine, as a Peremptory Fellow, (for so speaking as aforesaid to clear himself) and an Enemy to the Country, ye laid upon him, though he had formerly taken the Oath of Fidelity (as you call it) And this was on the third day of the Ninth Moneth, he being apprehended the last day of the Moneth before at *Salem*, and brought to *Boston*, where he was continued Prisoner till a Friend of his against his Will, and at the Peril of his said Friend (as he told him) paid it for him.

And as for the rest of the Prisoners there, of whom I have spoken: On the Eleventh of the Ninth Month following, viz. Christopher Helder, Daniel Gold, Robert Harper, and W. King in the Forenoon; and in the Afternoon, Abree Cowland, Margaret Smith, Mary Trask, Hannah Phelps, Hope Clifton, Mary Seal, and Providence Southick, whom having Examined, and said to Them what ye would, ye sent to Prison again; And on the

Edw. Wharton,
31. 8th Mo-
neth, 1659.
Apprehended,
Committed.

3d 9th Mo-
neth, 1659.
whipped with 20
lashes, and
fined 20 l.

11th 9th Mo-
neth, 1659.
The rest of the
Prisoners cal-
led before the
Court.

22d 9th Mo-
neth, 1639.
Whipt with
cruel stripes,
30 Dan Gold
15 R. Harper.
15 W. King.
10 Mar. Smith.
10 Mary Trask.
10 Provided
Southick.

the *Morrow* having them before ye, *Rawson* your Secretary read to them their Sentence, which was, — *Daniel Gold* to be Whipt *Thirty* stripes, *Robert Harper* Fifteen, *William King* Fifteen, *Margaret Smith* Ten, *Mary Trask* Ten, Provided *Southick* Ten (which your Executioner soon laid on them with great Cruelty in the *Open Street*, (and till now your Executions were done in *Private*, but having gone over the Lives of the *Innocent* in the *Open Field*, Ye were bold to Declare your Sin as *Sodom*, and stuck nor to draw the *Blood* of the Rest in the *Sight* of the *Sun*) beginning with *Daniel Gold*, whose Cloaths he stript off, and having tyed him to the *Wheel* of a *Great Gun*, stript off the *Skin* from his Back, and beat his *Flesh* on his *Bones*, with the number of stripes as aforesaid, and so he dealt by the Rest) So having drunk this other Draught of *Blood*, and delivered over *Alice Cowland*, *Hannah Phelps*, *Mary Scot*, and *Hope Clifton* to your Governor to be admonish'd, and sentenc'd *Christopher Holder* to Banishment upon Pain of *Death*, for coming into your Jurisdiction to passe for *England*, as aforesaid; Ye ended this your General Court, the Prisoners being returned from whence they came, to answer your *Jaylors Fees*, and there continued till some friendly People Engaging for it of their Own Accords, gained their Liberty.

Alice Cowland,
Han. Phelps,
Mary Scot,
Hope Clifton,
Admonishr.
Christo. Holder
Banished.

And so I have walked step by step through the cruel and merciless Order of your gradual Proceedings from Imprisonment to *Death*, to see if I could find any thing of *Law*, any thing of *Fact*, any thing of *Justice*; any *Regular Proceeding* according to either, on which ye might ground, and by which ye might warrant what ye have done; but I find none, and let the sober Reader see if he can, or any other thing than the monstrous shape of *Cruelty* and *Blood*, under the Profession of *Religion*, and the greatest *Inhumanities* and most barbarous Acts, as hath been produced by any Age in the Earth. For, this let me say, That though more *Blood* hath been shed, and with greater Executions, and in some sence more cruel, by those who have not pretended to *Religion*, at least to *Liberty of Conscience*, from whom no other thing could be expected, being delivered to their Wills; Yet, from Men pretending to *Religion* and to *Conscience*; who suffered for *Religion*, and their *Consciences*; who left their *Native Country*, *Friends* and *Relations*, to dwell in a *Wilderness* for to enjoy

enjoy their *Conscience and Religion*; From *Professors*, who have made so much ado about *Religion*, and for *their Conscience*, and set themselves up as the *Height* of all *Profession of Religion*, and the most Zealous Assertors of *Liberty of Conscience*; and for that Cause have expected to be had in Regard, viz. Because of *Conscience and Religion*; (as is your Case) For Men who are Relative to *Another Country*, whose Government doth depend upon *Others*; Who receive their Commission elsewhere, and are in Subordination to the *Power* of which they receive their *Commission*; Thus to Exceed all Bounds and Limits of *Moderation, Law, Humanity* and *Justice* upon a People, barely for *their Conscience*, and the Exercise of *their Religion* (as ye have done in the Instances aforesaid; and much more which could be brought, were it not too burdensom to the Reader, for I am forc'd to take but the Minutes of many things for the Readers satisfaction) And for *You* to do it, who *your* selves are the Men (not *Another Generation*) which so fled, which so suffered, is beyond a *Parallel*: And yet after all these *your Illegal and Unrighteous Proceedings* in *Blood and Cruelty*, ye are not ashamed to say.

Declaration.

—The Consideration of our gradual Proceeding will vindicate us from the Clamorous Accusations of Severity, Our Own Just and Necessary Defence calling upon us (other Means failing) to offer the Point, which these Persons have violently and wilfully rusted upon, and thereby become Felons de se; which, might it have been Prevented, and the Sovereign Law, *Salus Populi*, been preserved, Our former Proceedings, as well as the sparing Mary Dyar upon an Inconsiderable Intercession, will manifestly Evince that We desire their Lives absent, rather than their Deaths present. So ends your Declaration.

Printed by their Order.

Edw. Ransom, Secret.

Answer.

Had ye not Foreheads of Brass, and Faces of Flint, and Hearts harder

harder than the *Adamant*, and Consciences Seared with a *hot Iron*, It were wonderful to think that *you* should dare to utter *such* Abominable Untruths before *God* and *Man*, much less to put *your* Justification of *All* upon the Consideration of what *ye* here call, *Your Gradual Proceedings*.

For, *First*, *Your Gradual Proceeding*, is not from the *Merits* of the *Fact*, (for here is none) Nor from the *Warranty* of the *Law*, (for that is Grounded upon *Fact*) Nor from the *Bottom* of *Justice* (for it is founded upon *Law*) But from *One Irregular Proceeding* to *Another*. For, *You* have proved nothing (as I have shewed) and there being *no* Proof, there's *no* Ground for *Law* ; and there being *no* Law, there's *no* Justice ; and so *Your Gradual Proceeding* contrary to *Law*, serves to Convince *Ton* of the Transgression of the *Law*; And the more *you* have rose up from a *Bottom* that is *wrong*, and the farther *ye* have proceeded from step to step, and not on a *Right Foundation*, the more *ye* have swerved from the *Right*, and are from a *Right Foundation*; And so the Consideration of *Your Gradual Proceeding* from *One Punishment* to *another*, is but the Consideration of *your Gradual Proceeding* from *One Cruelty* to *another*, from *Imprisonment* to *Whipping*, from *Whipping*, to *Cutting off Ears*, from *Cutting off Ears* to *Finings* and *Confiscation of Estates*, from *Finings* and *Confiscation of Estates* to *Selling for Bond-men* and *Bond-women*, from *Selling for Bond-men* and *Bond-women* to *Banishment upon pain of Death*, from *Banishment upon pain of Death* to *Death it Self* ; And manifestly Evinces that *ye* desire *their Deaths* Present, rather than *their Lives* Absent ; and is so far from Vindicating *you* from the Accusations of Severity that it chargeth it (*yea* the greatest) upon *Ye*.

Secondly, *Ye* were put upon no other manner of Defence than that which is not of *this World*, then that which is *Spiritual* ; For, *They* came not to you with *Swords*, nor with *Staves*, neither with *Staff*, or with *Spear* ; But in the *Name* of the *Lord*, and with the *Word of Truth*, as did the *Apostles* and *Disciples* of Old, and as *ye* did to the *Bishops* ; And onely sought by the Demonstration of *Truth* to be made Manifest to *that* of *God* in every *Man's* Conscience ; and *they* were sent of the *Lord* in *Love* to turn *you* from *darkness* to the *Light*, and from the *Power of Satan* into *God*; that *ye* might receive *Remission of Sins*, and an *Inheritance* which

which is Incorruptible amongst them which are Sanctified, by Faith which is in Christ. And this was the End of their Coming, and the Intent thereof, and no Other; And no other thing did they do, nor have ye Convinc'd them of any Other. Now what is this to that which ye pretend, and seem to Insinuate by all this Clamor of your Just and Necessary Defence — and all other means failing — and which might it have been prevented, and Salus Populi, the Sovereign Law been Preserved — As if the whole Countrey, and Every Individual therein, and your selves in particular were in danger as by a Hostile Enemy? Were ye in the Truth, or of the Truth, the Truth is able to defend its own, and its Weapons are not Carnal but Spiritual, Mighty through God, to the casting down of strong holds, and every Imagination that exalts it self against the kingdom of Jesus Christ; And it needs not man, nor the arm of man to defend it. But in that ye have not warred with these, but with other weapons, and by Cruelty and Blood which the Truth is against) have sought to Support your Religion, and by such Proceedings as these, and Loud Acclamations, have endeavoured to Preserve your Religion, & to bespeak your Justification with the People; It is manifest and it plainly shews that your Religion is not Truth, that your Clamor is not Right, that ye that crie out of Wrong are the greatest Wrong-doers, and that there is no such thing as ye pretend; and that ye are as Ridiculous in your Fears as ye are Cruel in your Wills.

Thirdly, The other meanes you mention to have used are Imprisonments, Whippings, Cutting off Ears, Fines and Confiscation of Estates, Selling for Bond-men and Bond-women for the Payment of Fines, where ye had taken all, or that there was no other thing to satisfie you, which you are Silent in, Or ye may pretend ye did it by Virtue of Old Laws; but New Fines you laid, and whether ye did it upon New Laws or Old, that is not the Point, but do them you did, and are some of your other Meanes, and Cruel Ones too as I have shewed, Banishment upon pain of Death; These are your Means, your [all] other Means (yet all they are not) And all these your other Meanes failing, (you say) you offered them the Point, which they coming upon wilfully and Violently (as you say) but I say (and it is so, and time will make it manifest, the Lord will make it appear that it was in the Will of God (as hath been declared) they came into

your Jurisdiction, and in the *Moving* and by the *Command* of *Him* who is above your *Laws*, and will dash you too pieces) Or rushing upon, (as ye alledge but soberly they came in, and in the fear of God) thereby became Felons de se (or were Guilty of their own Blood, of which you are Guilty) and must know the price of it, for this shift will not serve you before the Judge of all, who is drawing near to Judgement, and will render to you according to your deeds, before whom ye are naked and bare, and who sees your Hearts, and knows the bottom of your Intents against these People, and accordingly will Judge you, whose Judgements are Just) You put them to Death. These are your Means your [all] other Means, but these are none of the Means which the Spirit of Truth Prescribes in the Scriptures of the Apostles, for the Convincing Gainsayers ; But Exhortation, Reproof, Admonition, the Word of Truth, the Sword of the Spirit ; and these the Apostles used, and with these they warred, and they wrestled not with Flesh and Blood, but with Principallities and Powers, and Spiritual Wickednesses in high Places ; and in Meekness they Instructed them who Opposed themselves, if God Peradventure would give them the Knowledge of the Truth. And the Son of God tells ye, That he came not to destroy mens Lives, but to save. And when his Disciples would have Fire come down on the men of Samaria, He said, Ye know not of what Spirit ye are. Now these Means failing, or you having failed in the using of these Means, or, you not knowing how to use these Means, or you being not in that which would teach you how to use these Means, which are the Means ye should have used, and would have directed you thereunto ; Ye betake your selves to other Means, Means that you should not have used, Means which the using of them cannot Convince the Heart and Conscience of Man, nor Instruct the Ignorant, nor bring to the Knowledge of the Truth those that Oppose themselves ; Nor Overcome Principallities, and Powers, and Spiritual Wickednesses in high Places ; Nor Subdue the Spirit though it may bring under the Body, and through fear of him that can Kill the Body, make to Blaspheme Him who can Kill both Soul and Body, and cast both into hell fire (which was not the Case of these, for they feared not you who did Kill the Body and could go no further, but Him who can Kill both Soul and Body and cast into hell fire, him they feared ; And Sanctified him in their hearts, and made

made him their Fear and their Dread, and he kept them who trusted in Him, because they trusted in Him, who never failed them who put their trust in Him; And Delivered them, and they have obtained a good Report, and have finished their course with Joy, (those whom ye have put to Death) and kept the Faith, and henceforth is laid up for them a Crown of Righteousness which the Lord the Righteous Judge will give them in that day, and not onely unto them, but to all those who love the Lord Jesus Christ and his appearing.) I say, these Means failing, you betake your selves to Other Means, to the Means which the World useth, as aforesaid, (to shew that you are of this World) which never reacheth the Spirit, but the Body, and because they cannot reach the Spirit they kill the Body; When as the Spirit it is that Offers up the Body, and presents it a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, which is its reasonable service; and by which they offered up their Bodies on the Point which ye offered unto them, and on the Tree triumphed over ye all, and shewed that Greater was he that was in them, then he that is of this World, and that they could [die] to do the will of God; And that nothing could separate them, no not Death it self, from the Love of God which is Christ Jesus. And so, as your [all] other, so this Means of Cruelty (viz.) Death it self hath failed you, in thinking thereby to Overcome the Saints of the most High God, or to keep them from the doing of his Will.

Fourthly, The Point ye offered them was without Ground in Law, or that the Law allows ye to put. For, as I have said Valuable Considerations, must precede, and such as will weigh down that of taking away of a man's Life, which the Law esteems a most precious thing. Now here is no such produced by you, nor are there any such; The utmost is, that they are such as are called Quakers, who are proved to be another manner of People in this Nation, than you Reproach, and are so with you, whom you have not Convicted of one Principle or Practice that is contrary to Godliness; Onely the Hat ye stumble at (which is their Reasonable Apparel) and by the Hat ye Judged them to be such, and put them to Death. And this was the Point which ye offered, and this was it against which ye offered it, and in this they came (in their reasonable Apparel) in the Will of God upon your Point, and passed through it. Now
where

where Valuable Considerations are not the *Ground*, neither is *Law* nor *Reason* : For, as I have said, it is Lawfull for any *English* man to reside, come in, or be in any of the Dominions appertaining to *England*, and as Natural it is for One as for Another ; For it is an *English* man's House, and where shall a man be if he shall not be in his House ? And it is not the *Name* of a *Thing* ; Or the *Distinction* of *Word* or *Habit* (put by men) that must cut a man off from *this* his Priviledge which is by *Nature* ; Nor should *Names* of *Distinction* (much less of *Reproach*) be given whereby to raise One Part of a *Nation* against Another, for this Ministers *Division*, and is an Occasion thereof, and tends to the *Dissolution* of *Government* and is contrary to *Law*. Therefore *they* who come into a Countrey unto which *they* have a *Natural*, and *Legal* Right (as *these* had, and any *English* man hath to come in amongst you) and have not done any thing by which by the *Law* of their Countrey *they* are justly made incapable of that Right (as *these* had not, for you are in Subordination to *England*, *Your* Lawes are not to be Repugnant unto it) There for such to come, reside, or to be, is no Valuable Consideration, or Legal Ground (as to his Countrey) to be put upon the Point, or the Point to be offered unto him, and if the Point be offered to *such*, and *they* come upon it, and *they* be killed therewith, such cannot be said to be *Fellows* *de se* ; For the Law will say, — *Quo Warranto*, — On what Ground ? And the Ground is short as hath been Declared, and made to appear ; Nor Violently or Willfully to rush upon the Point, but *those* who without Law or Ground (as to the Law of *their* Countrey and *your* Countrey is *England*) shall so offer the Point, and run *them* through who come upon it, Such are *Ingulatores de se*, Cutters of their own Throats, or *Shedders* of Blood in *their* own Wrong (*your* Case in this Particular) and the Violence and wilfulness will be attributed unto them by the Law, who set the Point not to those that come upon it ; As of one who sets the Sword where another man may lawfully Pass, and be that so Passes is Executed thereupon ; For he that so cometh, cometh upon *his* Right.

Mary Dyer
put to Death
after the Reprieve.

Lastly. Oh ye wretched Hypocrites, and Murderers ! Did ye not put the same *Mary Dier* to Death, when she came again into *your* Jurisdiction after *your* Reprieve, and when she was as near
the

the Execution as the turning off the Ladder, she being ready, and having signified to *your* Executioner, that he might do it when he would? So Putting her twice to *Die*, a Cruelty beyond Once putting to *Death*; (A *Comely* grave Woman, and of a *Goodly* Personage, and well bred as among men, and one of a *Good* Report, having an *Husband* of an *Estate*, fearing the Lord, and a *Mother* of *Children*) Did *ye* *Pitty*? Did *ye* *Spare*? Had *ye* *Compassion*? Were *Bowels* in *you*? *Ye* *Cruel* *Murderers*! Was it an *Inconsiderable* *Intercession* that moved *ye* to *Reprieve* *her*? Or was it not *your* own *Deceit* to bring the People back to *you* upon a *seeming* shew of *Mercy* upon Pretence of *Bowels* moving at; or taking advantage of an *Inconsiderable* *Intercession* whom *your* *Bloodiness* had turned from *you*, and made them to abhor *you*? Let the *Witness* of God in *you* be heard to speak, for I am sure it will, and will be heard in *you* one day, when it shall arise in you, as to this very thing, a *Worm* that shall never die, and a *fire* that shall never go out. And this *your* *Cruelty* speaks it against *you*, and the *Lord* *God* *Eternal* hath tried *you* by this, and *your* *Bloody* *Laws*, and snap them asunder by a Woman, and Triumphed over them and *you* again and again, who by his *Eternal* *Arm* was made twice to look *Death* in the *Face*, and overcame, rejoycing to die in the *Will* of *God*; and finishing *her* *Course*, *her* *Testimony* in the face of *ye* *All*; Trampling upon *you*, and *your* *Laws*, and *your* *Halter*, and *your* *Gallows*, and *your* *Priests*, and is sat down at the *Right* hand of *God*. *Ye* *bloody* *Butchers*! *Ye* *Monsters* of *Men*! *Ye* *Cruel* *Murderers*! whom nothing satisfies but the *Blood* of the *Innocent*. Besides did not *John* *Winthrop* the *Governor* of the *Jurisdiction* of *Connaticote*, labour with *you*, that *ye* would not put *them* to *Death*? and did he not say unto you, *That* *he* *would* *beg* *it* *of* *you* *on* *his* *bare* *knees*, *that* *ye* *would* *not* *do* *it*? — And did not *Colonel* *Temple* go to *your* *Court* and tell *ye*, — *That* *if* *according* *to* *your* *Declaration* *ye* *desired* *their* *Lives* *absent*, *rather* *than* *their* *Deaths* *present*, *He* *would* *beg* *them* *of* *you*, and *Carry* *them* *away* *at* *his* *own* *Charge*, and *give* *them* *a* *House* *to* *live* *in*, and *Corn* *to* *seed* *on*, and *Land* *for* *them* *and* *their* *heirs* *to* *Plant* *on*, *that* *so* *once* *within* *a* *Year*, *they* *should* *be* *able* *to* *provide* *for* *themselves*, and *if* *any* *of* *them* *should* *come* *amongst* *ye* *again*, *he* *would* *again* *fetch* *them* *on* *his* *own* *Charge*? And was not this Motion of his well of liked by the *Magistrates*,

gistrates, except *Two* or *Three*, and did not they propound it to the Deputies the *next* day? but did not the Deputies, and those Magistrates, Over-Vote it the *next* day? and Ordered *they* not present Execution to be done upon them that afternoon, as soon as *your* Worship was ended; which was *your* Thursday's Lecture? And so did *ye* not put them to Death, and Murder them as aforesaid? And yet now see how *ye* come and *smooth* over the *Matter*, like the Harlot mentioned by *Solomon*, as if *ye* had done *no* Evil? O *ye* Impudent hypocrites! As if it were far from *you* to desire *their* Deaths, or that *you* did not desire it, but rather *their* Lives? And that such Clemency, and Mercy lodged in *you*, and such Compassion and Bowels, that *you* took notice of the least opportunity, that might give *ye* the occasion to make it manifest; And that *ye* did it upon an *Inconsiderable* Intercession, (*viz.* *Mary Dier*, whom notwithstanding these Considerable Intercessions of such Considerable Men among *ye*, and this other Inconsiderable One (as *ye* term it) which was of her Son, (and that is something considerable, and more than *ye* would make of it, for a Child is near, and its Intercession of a prevailing nature, *ye* put her (as I may so say) the second time to Death. And yet see how *ye* bring this (when *ye* have done all) as a *Demonstration*; which (*ye* say but oh how Impudently!) will manifestly Evince that *ye* desired *their* Lives absent, rather than *their* Deaths present, when as *ye* put them to Death; yea this very Woman, *your* Instance, notwithstanding the several Intercessions aforesaid, which proved *Inconsiderable*. And then *ye* say,

Declaration and Answer.

Although the Justice of our Proceedings against William Robinson, and Marnaduke Stevenson, and Mary Dier, supported by the Authority of this Court, the Laws of this Countrey, and the Law of God (which are All Lies, for you have no such Authority, nor can your Laws support where Authority you have none, and the Law of God is against you; for it puts not to Death the Innocent, or gives ye Power so to do, in Matters of Religion) which

which are from Man's Cognizance, and in which he hath not to do) *may rather perswade us to expect Encouragement,* (from such as you are, and who are of your Spirit, but no other) *and Commendation from all Prudent and Pious men,* (who, those who are truly so, will do the Contrary) *than Convince us of any necessity to Apologize,* (yet why do ye do it, seeing that the very Name of an Apologie marring your Justice) *for the same; yet forasmuch as men of weaker Parts, out of Pitty and Commiseration, a commendable and Christian Virtue,* (why then have ye not followed it ? How come ye to Condemn it in an Apologie, and yet ye set it above ye, as Apologizing to it ?) *yet easily abused, and susceptible of sinister and dangerous Impressions* (and yet a Christian Virtue, and a Commendable) *Can Virtue be mixt ? is it susceptible of sinister and dangerous Impressions ?) for want of a full Information* (may be less had been better, for this satisfies not) *may be less satisfied* (what Justice is *that* which reacheth not that of God in the Conscience which should be the full Information to witness for you ? Which your Justice wanting your full Information signifies nothing, and which you wanting, you come to give full Information.) *and men of perverser Principles* (so must be all those who Joyn not with you) *to Calumniate us,* (Truth is no slander) *and render us as Bloody Persecutors,* (who certainly are such) *to satisfy the one,* (which will never be) *and stop the Mouths of the other,* (which can he never) for it's the witness of Truth) *We thought fit to Declare, That about Three years since Divers Persons professing themselves Quakers, &c.* as in the Beginning, which I have already answered, and do make an End with your Beginning in the End. And so have finished my Answer to your Declaration.

Having thus gone through *your* Declaration, and Related the Sufferings of Friends as they have come under the *several* heads thereof, and as occasion hath been given me by *your* said Declaration, I shall now proceed to what was done in the *other* Colonies through *your* Example, and what since Friends have suffered in *your* Own, and so finish up *your* Summe.

The Sufferings
of Friends in
Plimmouth
Patent.

No sooner had *ye* began *your* Persecution, and drawn the blood of the *Innocent*, for which *you* must answer unto the Lord, and *your* time is near, but the *other* Colonies, *viz.* that of *Plimmouth* Patent (chiefly) and *Newhaven*, for as for *Cannellicote* the *Fourth* and *Last*, there was little done, as I shall manifest, the Governor, being so tender a man as hath been declared, and what was done, I shall shew in its place) soon followed after *you*, & *Plimmouth* Saddle (as one that was Magistrate of that Colony, in a Letter wrote in the sence of the Sufferings of these People in that Country, hereafter mentioned, hath exprest it) being put on the *Bay* (or *Red*) *Horse*, (*viz.* *Boston*) that Patent rides on the *Career*, though not as to Banishment upon pain of Death, Death and Ears, Yet other Cruelties as to Fines, Whippings, Imprisonments, &c. And *Newhaven* will Exceed in Crueltie, all the former, in Burning in the Hand and other Cruelties.

Nicholas
Upshal.

And here in the *First Place*, Old *N. Upshal* challengeth the *Preheminence*, for the time of *his* Banishment being as *Early* as the Proclamation of *your* Law of Blood, and coming from *you* (being Banisht) into that Jurisdiction for a little Shelter in the *Winter* Season, the Governor thereof (one *Bradford*, since *Dead* in the *Reward* of his Iniquity) forbad him to be received by the *Town* of *Sandwich*, whitherto *he* was come, and when the tender-hearted People of that Town could not be so Inhospitable as to turn him out, He sent his *Warrant* for him to come to *Plimmouth* (which was *about* twenty miles from thence) which he not answering, being so stricken in *Years*, and the Season such, that to have gone thither was as much as might have cost him his Life, as *he* signified to the Governor in a Letter, and that if *he* Perished *his* Blood would be required at his Hands, *he* was suffered to stay (by the *Moderation* of *some* of the *Magistrates*) till the *Spring* of the *Year*, in which so *Early* *he* was Posted away, that *he* had like to have Perished in
his

this Passage to Rhoad Island, as I have already Declared.

Nor did John Copeland and Christopher Holder meet with better Usage at their hands, for they having been at Martins Vineyard (a Place between Rhoad Island and Plimmonth Colony) and speaking there a few Words in the Movings of the Lord (who moved them to go thither) after that Priest Maha (the Governours Son) had ended his Divination in their Meeting House, they were both thrust out of the Meeting House Door by the Constable, and delivered the next day by the Governor and Constable to an Indian (where were many on that Island) in order to be carried in a small Cannoo (or hollowed piece of Timber) to the Mayne Land over a Sea nine Miles broad (dangerous enough for any to Pass over) having first took their money from them to Pay the Indian; Who taking the Custody of them shewed himself more hospitable, (as did the rest of the Indians) and supplied them freely with all Necessaries according to what the Indians had, during the space of those Three dayes they staid there waiting for a Calme season) and refused to take any Consideration, he who had them in Custody, Saying, - That they were strangers, and Jehovah taught him to Love strangers. - (Learn of the Heathen, ye who pretend your selves Christians) and an Opportunity presenting, set them on shoare on the Main Land, where they were soon set upon, at New-Plimmonth, (to which they came from Sandwich) by the Governor and Magistrates there; And several of your Church Members; and after a Long Dispute, were required to be gone; yet they were loath to let them go, but the next Morning the Marshal's Deputy came for them, and brought them before Thomas Southworth, and John Alden (Two notorious Persecutors and men of Blood, as I shall shew by and by) who examined them (after they had been Committed) and required them to depart the Colony (there being nothing found against them) telling them they had a Law for that purpose (but would not shew it them, when they desired it, being strangers) and so let them go. Nevertheless the next Morning, a Constable was sent to the Inne where they Lodged to keep them from going to Sandwich, (whereto they were bound, their Testimony there being received by many with Gladness of heart, and the rest were troubled, and unto which they said they must pass ere they departed the

John Copeland,
Christopher
Holder.
16th day 6th
Month, 1657.
Martins
Vineyard.

The kindness
of the Indians
in Martins
Vineyard

A Savory
speech of
an Indian

They being
commanded
to depart out
of Plimmonth
and returning
again, were
apprehended.

Countrey, it being required them of the Lord.) who seized upon *them*, viz. the *Constable* as they were passing thither, and Carried them *six* Miles onwards to *Rhod Island* out of the *Liberties* of the said *Town* as he was required. But they Obeying the *Lord* rather than *man*, soon returned to *Sandwich* after he left them; Where the *Priests* cried to the *Governor*, *help, help*, against these men — who answered *their* Crie, and sent his Warrant, and caused *them* to be Apprehended in the Name of the (then) *Protector*, as *Extravagant Persons*, and *Vagabonds* (who are the *Lord's* Freemen, and have in him an *Habitation*; and a *Portion* in the *Earth*, and about *his* Work, out of all Liberty to Evil in the fear of the *Lord*) and brought *them* to *Plimmouth*, where a * *Friendly Man*, for but demanding of the *Deputy Constable* (who had them in *Custody*) a *Coppy* of the Warrant, (which is usual in such Cases, and should be given) was fined 20. s. and the *two* Prisoners required to *Depart*, and forced so to do by the *Deputy Marshal*, who brought them out of *that* Colony *fifty* miles, and so left them near *Rhod Island*, the 2d. day of the 7th Month 1657. and this by Order of *T. Prince* the *Governor*, (the other being *Dead*) and *John Alden*, and *Josiah Winslow*, and *Thomas Southworth*, Magistrates, Dated at *Plimmouth*, the 31st. of *August*, 1657. who assigned the Warrant, and caused the Execution though they refused to shew their Law, to which *they* pretended, for so doing, and though *they* also said, that *they* believed that *they* (viz. the said Prisoners) did not know that *they* had such a Law; and threatened *them* with their Law for *Vagabonds* (that is to say *Whipping*) if *they* came again. How Exactly *these* have learn't of *you* in the *Beginning*, and walked after *your* Unrighteous steps, the *Reader* may perceive by being as *early* in the Consideration of what *ye* have done, as in the Perusal of *this* part of *their* Suffering.

* *W. Newland*
Fined 20 s. for
demanding a
Coppy of their
Warrant of the
Deputy Con-
stable, and sent
the second time
out of that
Colony.
2d. of the
7th. Moneth,
1657.

Threatned if
they return.

Hump. Norton.

The next is *Humphrey Norton* who fared no better then the rest, for he coming to *that* Colony in the *Drawings* of the *Lord* to Visit his seed, and to speak at the *Court*, was apprehended at *Sandwich*, before the *Court* sate, and had to *Plimmouth*, and there Detained a Prisoner till he sent a Paper to the *Court*, when he saw *they* were likely to End, and he was not sent for, in *these* Words, viz. — *I require of you a Publick Examination, and if found guilty*

guilty publickly punished, if not cleared.— Upon which he was had before them, and sentenced to Banishment, although what *they* Banished. laid to *his* charge as being an *Extravagant* Person, was not (nor could be) proved against *them*, nor any thing else of which he was Accused.

Thus as to *Banishment*, next as to *Fines*.

The *First* occasion taken against the *Inhabitants*, who Entered *Friends*, and had *Meetings* of those People at *their* Houses was that of *Swearing* under the *Pretence* as *serving* as *Jury* Men, whereun:o they were summoned, and *Ralph Alden*, and *William Newland* (both *Inhabitants* of *Sandwich*) are the *first* pitched upon for that purpose, *Ralph Alden* was summoned to serve on the *High* and *Petty* *Juries* at one and the same time that he might not miss, and *W. Newland* on the *Petty* *Juries*, and this *Twenty* Miles from the *Town* where they lived; Notwithstanding thither *they* come, and manifest *their* willingness to serve, if it might be without *Swearing*, for that they could not do, it being contrary to the *Doctrine* of *Christ*; But that was not accepted, it being besides their purpose, which was upon occasion of that, to *Question* them about having *Meetings* in *their* Houses, which *they* called *Disorderly* and *Riotous*, though it was in *Peace*, and was onely of *Neighbours* and *Friends*, to wait upon the *Lord*. For which *they* were fined *Twenty* *Shillings* a piece, *W. Newland* *Ten* shillings for not serving on the *Jury*, which he refused not to do but swear he could not, and *Ten* *Shillings* for procuring a *Coppy* of the *Warrant* of the *Deputy Constable* by which *C. Holder* and *J. Copeland*, were Apprehended as aforesaid, when *they* first came to *his* House as aforesaid; (which is a thing the *Constable* should do, and which the *Deputy Constable* said he thought he might do safely (what havock is here of *Men's* *Liberties*, by those who so much pretend to *Freedom*, and came into a *Free* Country for that purpose? The Governor saying to *him* afterwards at the *first* *Month* *Court*, at which he was set free (as hereafter is to be *Expressed*) that He looked upon it as a very gross thing) and required *they* were to find *Sureties* in *Eighty* *Pounds* *Penalty* each, for the *Good Behaviour* for *Six* *Moneths*; Which they refusing to do, it being against a

Suffering as to Fines.

Ralph Alden
W. Newland
of Sandwich
8th Moneth,
1658.

good

good Conscience, and appertaining unto the Worship of God, not having misbehaved *themselves* at all as to God or Man in the *thing*; *they* were committed to the *Marshal*, and sentenced by the *Governour* to pay *five* Shillings at their Commitment, and *five* Shillings at their Release, and *five* Shillings every Day during the time of their Imprisonment, which was till the Court in the *first* Moneth 1658. (of which more by and by) being continued for the space of near *five* Months Prisoners, from *their* Wives, and Children, and Occasions, and Relations, which were many, and between *twenty* and *thirty* Miles Distance from their outward Beings, part of it in the depth of *Winter*, and Distresses *they* took of *W. Newland*, for *thirty* Shilling, (being a *Heifer*) better worth than so much) and of the other for his fine, but as for the *Marshal* he was more Moderate, and Exacted not what he might have done by the Order of the *Governour*.

Thus Entred the *Scene* of Cruelty, and Wickedness in *these* Parts, which ceased not here, but proceeded from one Cruelty to another, till such time as *they* had filled up a great measure of Iniquity, and became much like *you* in Persecuting of the *Just*.

Peter Gaunt.
Dan. Wing.
Ra. Allin.
W. Allin.
of Sandwich.

For presently after the Release of *these*, the very *same* Court which sat in the *first* Moneth and set them at *Liberty*, had *Peter Gaunt*, *Daniel Wing*, *Ralph Allin*, and *Williams Allin* before *them* (all of *Sandwich*) upon Pretence of *Felony* in *breaking* forceably into another man's House (as *they* had done before by *VV. Newland*, when they summoned *him* to be a *Jury* man as aforesaid, but indeed, to have occasion against *them*, (as they took occasion against *him*) and to make *them* otherwise to suffer for their Consciences; But the *man* of the *House* (*viz. Nathaniel Fish*) having cleared *them* of the pretended *Fellony* (for all the matter was that they came into *his* House to see the *Prisoners* aforesaid, (*viz. Christopher Holder* and *J. Copeland*) which were there in his House, the *Door* being open, (a *Pittiful* shift and manifesting the depth of *Envy*, and *Wickedness*, and how *they* designed the same occasion not that they gave it, They proceeded to fine them *twenty* Shillings a piece for not putting off *their* Hats, and Distress to the Value of *Five* Pounds was taken from them for to satisfy it. And at this Court they Enacted,

Fined for not
putting off
the Hat.

That

That no Inhabitant Entertain any person commonly called a Quaker under the Penalty of five Pounds, or Whipping. That if any such Person come into any Township within that Government, he that knows, or suspects him to be such a One shall acquaint the Constable or his Deputy upon pain of Presentment, and being liable to Censure in Court, and upon which the Constable or his Deputy shall diligently endeavor to apprehend him, and Command him to depart the Township or Government; if he delay or refuse to Depart, the Constable shall bring him before the Magistrate of the Township, if there be any, and where there is none, to the Select men appointed by the Court for that purpose, who shall cause him to be Whipt or Pay five Pounds; and to be conveyed out of the Township, and the same course to be taken with them, as often as they transgress this Order; and that no Person or Persons be suffered to resort to them whilst in Custody. That no Meetings of such persons (whether strangers or others) be kept by any Person in any Place within that Government, under the Penalty of forty shillings a time, for every Speaker, and ten shillings a time for every Hearer, and forty shillings a time for the Owner of the Place that permits them so to speak together; and if any Meet together, and are silent, every Person so Meeting together shall pay ten shillings a time, and the Owner of the Place forty shillings a time; and that no publick meeting be from thenceforth, set up, but such as the Court shall approve off. — And that they might be sure to have advantage enough against those People, and to Impoverish their Estates, and undoe their Families, and to wear them out, They ordered all to take the Oath of Fidelity to their Government, who were not Freemen upon the pain of five pounds — And that they might be sure to keep out all such for the future from being Inhabitants in their Government. They ordered — That for the future none be so suffered, but such as shall be allowed of by the Governors and Two of the Assistants. — By reason of which unrighteous Laws, so contrary to Right and Liberty, and many others made on purpose to Ensnare and Oppress the Innocent; Such Cruelties have been Exercised; as is hard to relate, and too long to mention in all the Particulars, only take a general View of them (for Unto you they appertain both in Example and Punishment) in a Letter wrote by a sometimes Magistrate and Commander of theirs to his friend in England (formerly of that Jurisdiction also, and a Magistrate there) written from the sence thereof

Laws against
Friends made
by the Court.
1. Month,
1658.

thereof in the following Words, and then I shall touch at some of the Particulars as they are come to my hands.

The Letter follows.

AS for the State and Condition of things amongst us, it is Sad, and like so to continue; The Antichristian Persecuting Spirit is very active, and that in the Powers of this World; He that will not Whip and Lash, Persecute and Punish men that Differ in matters of Religion, must not sit on the Bench, nor sustain any Office in the Common-wealth. Last Election, Mr. Hatherly and my self left off the Bench, and my self Discharged of my Captainship, because I had Entertained some of the Quakers at my House (thereby that I might be the better acquainted with their Principles) I thought it better so to do, than with the blind World to Censure, Condemn, Rail at, and Revile them, when they neither saw their Persons, nor knew any of their Principles: But the Quakers and my self cannot close in Divers things; and so I signified to the Court, I was no Quaker, but must bear my Testimony against sundery things that they held as I had occasion and opportunity; But withall, I told them That as I was no Quaker, so I would be no Persecutor. This Spirit did work those two years that I was of the Magistracy, during which time I was on sundry occasions, forced to Declare my Dissent in Sundry actings of that Nature, which although done with all Moderation of Expression, together with due respect unto the Rest, yet it wrought great Dissaffection, and Prejudice in them against me; So that if I should say some of themselves set others on work to frame a Petition against me, that so they might have a seeming Ground from others (though first moved and acted by themselves) to lay me what they could under Reproach) I should do no wrong. The Petition was with Nineteen Hands; It will be too long to make Rehearsal; It wrought such a Disturbance in our Town, and in our Millitary Company, that when the Act of Court was Read in the Head of the Company, had not I been present, and made a Speech to them, I fear there had been such Actings as would have been of a sad Consequence. The Court was again followed with another Petition of fifty four hands, and the Court return the Petitioners an Answer with much plausibleness of speech, carrying with it great shew of Respect to them, readily acknowledging with the Petitioners my Parts and Gifts,

Gifts, and how useful I had been in my Place, Professing they had nothing at all against me, only in that thing of giving Entertainment to the Quakers, when as I broke no Law in giving them a Nights Lodging or two, and some Victuals; For, our Law then was, — If An Account of any entertain a Quaker, and keep him after he is warned by a Magistrate to depart, the Party so entertaining shall pay Twenty shillings a week for entertaining them — Since hath been made a Law — If any entertain a Quaker, if but a quarter of an hour, he is to forfeit Five pounds. — Another, — That if any see a Quaker, he is bound, if he live six miles or more from the Constable, yet he must presently go and give notice to the Constable, or else is subject to the Censure of the Court (which may be hang him) — Another, — That if the Constable know, or hear of any Quaker in his Precincts, he is presently to apprehend him, and if he will not presently depart the Town, the Constable is to whip them, and send them away. — And divers have been whipt with us in our Patent; and truly to tell you plainly, that the whipping of them with that Cruelty as some have been whipt, and their Patience under it, hath sometimes been the occasion of gaining more Adherence to them, than if they had suffered them Openly to have Preached a Sermon.

— Also another Law — That if there be a Quakers Meeting any where in this Colony, the Party in whose House, or on whose Ground, is to pay Forty shillings; the Preaching Quaker Forty shillings; Every Hearer Forty shillings: Yea, and if they have Meetings, though nothing be spoken when they so meet, which they say, so it falls out sometimes — Our last Law — That now they are to be Apprehended, and carried before a Magistrate and by him committed to be kept close Prisoner, untill he will promise to depart, and never come again; and will also pay his Fees — (which I perceive they will do neither the one nor the other) and they must be kept only with the Countries Allowance, which is but small (namely, Course Bread and Water) No Friend may bring them any thing; None may be permitted to speak with them; Nay, if they have Money of their own, they may not make use of that to relieve themselves. —

In the Massachusetts (namely Boston Colony) after they have whipt them, cut their Ears, have now at last gone the furthest step

they can, They banish them upon pain of Death, if ever they come there again. We expect that we must do the like, We must dance after their Pipe : Now Plimmouth Saddle is On the Bay Horse, (viz. Bolton) we shall follow them on the Career ; For, it is well if in some there be not a desire to be their Apes and Imitators in all their Proceedings in things of this nature.

All these Carnal and Antichristian wayes being not of God's Appointment, effect nothing as to the obstructing or hindring of them in their way or course. It is only the Word, and Spirit of the Lord that is able to convince Gain-sayers ; they are the Mighty Weapons of a Christian's Warfare, by which Great and Mighty things are done and accomplished.

They have many Meetings and many Adherents, almost the whole Town of Sandwiche is adhering towards them; and give me leave a little to acquaint you with their Sufferings ; which is grievous unto, and saddens the hearts of most of the Precious Saints of God ; It lies down and rises up with them, and they cannot put it out of their minds, to see and hear of poor Families deprived of their Comforts, and brought into Penury and Want (you may say, by what means? and to what End ?) As far as I am able to judge of the End, it is to force them from their Homes and lawful Habitations, and to drive them out of their Coasts. The Massachusetts have banished six of their own Inhabitants, to be gone upon pain of death: and I wish that Blood be not shed; but our Poor People are pillaged and plundered of their Goods, and haply when they have no more to satisfy their unsatiable desire, at last may be forced to flee, and glad they have their Lives for a Prey.

The manner of their Proceedings to weary out Friends by Fines, as to the Oath of Fidelity.

As for the Means by which they are impoverished ; These in the first place were scrupulous of an Oath, Why then we must put in force an Old Law, — That all must take the Oath of Fidelity — This being rendered, they will not take it ; and then we must add more force to the Law, and that is, — If any man refuse, or neglect to take it by such a time, shall pay Five pounds, or depart the Colony — When the time is come, they are the same as they were, Then goes out the Marshal, and fetcheth away their Cows and other Cattel. Well, another Court comes, They are required to take the Oath again, — They cannot — Then Five pounds more, On this Account Thirty five head of Cattel, as I have been credibly informed, hath been by the Authority of our Court taken from

from them, the latter part of this Summer, and these People say, — If they have more right to them, than themselves, Let them take them — Some that had a Cow only, some Two Cows, some Three Cows, and many small Children in their Families, to whom in Summer time a Cow or two was the greatest Outward Comfort they had for their subsistence. A Poor Weaver that hath Seven or Eight small Children (I know not which) he himself lame in his Body, had but two Cows, and both taken from him. The Marshal asked him what he would do? he must have his Cows. The Man said, — That God that gave him them he doubted not, but would still provide for him. —

A Remarkable instance in a poor Weaver of their Cruelty.

To fill up the Measure yet more full, though to the further emptying of Sandwich Men of their outward Comforts. The last Court of Assistants, the first Tuesday of this Instant, the Court was pleased to determine Fines on Sandwich Men for Meetings, sometimes on First Dayes of the Week, sometimes on other dayes, as they say: They meet ordinarily twice in the week, besides the Lords Day, One Hundred and Fifty pounds, whereof W. Newland is Twenty four pounds for himself and his Wife, at Ten shillings a Meeting. W. Allen Forty six pounds, some affirm it Forty nine pounds. The poor Weaver afore spoken of, Twenty pounds. Brother Cook told me One of the Brethren at Barnstable certified him, that he was in the Weavers house, when Cruel Barlor (Sandwich Marshal) came to demand the Sum, and said he was fully informed of all the Poor Man had, and thought if all laid together, it was not worth Ten pounds. What will be the End of such Courses and Practices the Lord only knows. I heartily and earnestly pray that these and such like courses, neither raise up among us, nor bring in upon us either the Sword, or any devouring Calamity, as a Just Avenger of the Lord's Quarrel for acts of Injustice and Oppression, and that we may every one find out the Plague of his own heart; and putting away the Evil of his own Doings, and meet the Lord by Entreaties of Peace, before it be too late, and there be no Remedy.

Fines as to Meetings.

Our Civil Powers are so exercised in things appertaining to the Kingdom of Christ in matters of Religion and Conscience, that we can have no time to effect any thing that tends to the Promotion of the Civil Weal, or the Prosperity of the Place; But now we must have a State-Religion, such as the Powers of the World will allow,

and no other: A State-Ministry, and a State-way of Maintenance: And we must worship and serve the Lord Jesus as the World shall appoint us: we must all go to the Publick Place of Meeting in the Parish where he dwells, or be presented; I am informed of Three or Four score last Court presented, for not coming to Publick Meetings; and let me tell you how they brought this about: You may remember a Law once made, called Thomas Hinckley's Law, - That if any neglected the Worship of God in the Place where he lives, and sets up a Worship contrary to God, and the Allowance of this Government, to the publick Prophanation of Gods Holy Day and Ordinance, shall pay Ten shillings. — This Law would not reach what then was aimed at: Because he must do so and so; that is, all things therein expressed, or else break not the Law. In March last a Court of Deputies was called, and some Acts touching Quakers were made, and then they contrived to make this Law serviceable to them, and that was by putting out the word [and] and putting in the word [or] which is a Disjunctive, and makes every Branch to become a Law. So now if any do neglect, or will not come to the Publick Meetings, Ten shillings for every Defect. Certainly we either have less Wit, or more Money than the Massachusetts; For, for Five shillings a day a man may stay away, till it come to Twelve or Thirteen pounds, if he had it but to pay them; And these men altering this Law now in March, yet left it Dated, June 6. 1651. and so it stands as the Act of a General Court; they to be the Authors of it Seven years before it was in being; And so you your self have your part and share in it, if the Recorder lie not. But what may be the Reason that they should not by another Law, made and dated by that Court, as well effect what was intended, as by altering a word, and so the whole sence of the Law; and leave this their Act by the date of it charged on another Courts account? Surely the chief Instruments in the business being privy to an Act of Parliament for Liberty should too openly have acted repugnant to a Law of England; but if they can do the thing, and leave it on a Court as making it six years before the Act of Parliament, there can be no danger in this. And that they were privy to the Act of Parliament for Liberty to be then in being is evident, That the Deputies might be free to act it. They told us, That now the Protector stood not engaged to the Articles for Liberty, for the Parliament had now taken the Power into their Own hands, and had given the

Three or four score presented at One Court, for not coming to Publick Meetings.

Tho. Hinckleys Law for not Coming to Meetings.

A Notable Juggle or Sophistication of a Law made 7 years before to serve the present turn, as if it were not then made.

the Protector a new Oath, Only in General to maintain the Protestant Religion; and so produced the Oath in a Paper in writing; Whereas the Act of Parliament, and the Oath are both in one Book in Print; So that they who were privy to the One, could not be ignorant of the Other. But still all is well, if we can but keep the People ignorant of their Liberties and Priviledges, then we have liberty to Act in Our own Wills what we please.

We are wrapped up in a Laborynth of Confused Laws, that the Freemens Power is quite gone; and it was said last June-Court by one, — That they knew nothing the Freemen had there to do— Sandwich-men may not go to the Bay, lest they be taken up for Quakers; William Newland was there about his Occasions some Ten dayes since, and they put him in Prison Twenty four hours, and sent for divers to witness against him; but they had not Proof enough to make him a Quaker, which if they had, he should have been whipt: Nay, they may not go about their Occasions in other Towns in our Colony, but Warrants lie in Ambush to apprehend and bring them before a Magistrate, to give an Account of their business. Some of the Quakers in Rhoad Island came to bring them Goods to trade with them, and that for far Reasonabler terms than the Professing and Oppressing Merchants of the Country; but that will not be suffered: So that unless the Lord step in to their help and assistance, in some way beyond Man's Conceiving, their Case is sad, and to be pittied; and truly it moves bowels of Compassion in all sorts, except those in place, who carry with a high hand towards them. Through Mercy we have yet among us worthy Mr. Dunstar, whom the Lord hath made boldly to bear Testimony against the spirit of Persecution.

Our Bench now is, Tho. Prince, Governor; Mr. Collier, Capt. Willet, Capt. Winslow, Mr. Alden, Lieut. Southworth, W. Bradford, Tho. Hinckley. Mr. Collier last June would not sit on the Bench if I sat there, and now will not sit the next Year, unless he may have Thirty pounds sit by him. Our Court and Deputies last June made Capt. Winslow a Major. Surely we are all Mercenary Souldiers, that must have a Major imposed upon us. Doubtless the next Court they may choose us a Governor, and Assistants also. A Freeman shall need to do nothing but bear such Burdens as are laid upon him. Mr. Alden hath deceived the Expectations of many, and indeed lost the Affections of such, as I judge were

were his Cordial Christian Friends; who is very active in such ways, as I pray God may not be charged on him to be Oppressions of a high nature.

Thus far the Letter. It was written by James Cudworth in the Tenth Month, 1658. What he was as to them, the thing mentions; what as to *Tenderness* also, in reference to *Conscience*-Persecution, which he could not do, *he could not persecute*; for which, and for Entertaining some of them a Night or two, and giving them Provisions during that time, against which there was no Law as aforesaid, he was turned out. I shall not need much further to particularize, only a little I shall mention of the Occasion, which was the coming of *W. Brend* aforesaid (on whom you exercised your *Noted Cruelty*) and *John Copeland* into a Plantation in that Patent called *Scituate*; and being entertained by this friendly man, and for the ends therein exprest by himself in the Winter season (which you know is very cold, and hard to travel in; and even *Cruelty* it self (if I may so speak) would be gentle to the most inconsiderable, the vilest of men in such times as those, that they might not perish) One came with a Warrant, which he had fetcht several Miles in a Cold Night, from the said Major *VVinslow* (something was in the matter he was so promoted) and with others pulled them out of the House; and *Sarah Gibbens* also (whom your Cruelty to her gives me cause to remember) not having respect unto the Season, that so his will he might have; (and for that purpose pretermitted the two Magistrates that were in the Town, and passed to the said *VVinslow* for that purpose. One of which Magistrates out of *Tenderness* when he saw the Warrant, said,—*Mr. Envy had procured that*— and in lieu thereof, gave the Strangers this Protection, in these words, — *These are therefore to any that may interrupt these Two men in their Passage, that ye let them passe quietly on their way, they offering no wrong to any.*—

Timothy Hatherlie.—

And now I am thus come unto Particulars, I must lay unto your Charge (for through your Example and Encouragement it was that these things were done) the further suffering of the Innocent in the Particular, as you have heard something of

W. Brend.
J. Copeland.

Sarah Gibbens.

of it in the *General*, and that as to *Cruel Whippings & Scourgings*, as well as to *Fines, Imprisonment and Banishment*, chusing rather to observe the order of time when the *things* were done, than the distinction of *Punishments*.

First, then, These very *Two*, viz. *W. Brend*, and *John Copeland* (whom the said tender Gray-headed *Hatherly* protected from Wrong; instead of doing it, as aforesaid) coming thorow the Town of *Plimmouth* in order to their Passage, in which they were protected as aforesaid; were pursued by *Lieut. Southworth*, and brought before his *Fellow-Magistrates*; who, because they could not promise (for they waited in the Will of God, in which all Promises are to be made, that they might know what to do) in *Forty Eight* hours to depart the *Colony*, the weather being also very unseasonable and wet in the *Winter* season, caused them both to be whipt with Rods of *Twigs*, *VV. Brend* (a man of years) with *Ten Lashes*, in which *Four* Rods were broken, and *John Copeland* with *Twenty two* backwards and forwards, on *Breast and Back* and *Arms*, and that with such *Fury*, that as it drew Blood on all, so it wore out *Six* Rods in the laying of it on: and this without *Law*, and in the bitter wet cold snowy *Winter* season; being the *Ninth* of the *Twelfth* Month, 1657. and in the *Snow* and *Rain*; Out of their Coasts in which they would have had them to depart through a *Vast Wilderness* of *Sixty Miles* (in which were many *Rivers*) where the *Weather* was so thick, and the *Wilderness* so close, that they could not see their way; and because they did not so, to the apparent hazard of their *Lives*, as many did confess (should they have departed) therefore dealt they with them as aforesaid; and *Thomas VVillet*, *Tho. Southworth*, and *VVill. Collier* saw the Execution, which so struck on the standers-by, that one *Edward Perry* in the presence of the *Magistrates* gave Testimony, and said, — That he was there an *Eye-witness* that day of the *Sufferings* of the *People of the Lord* — For which *Will. Collier* called him their *Fool* — No marvel that *James Cudworth* so wrote, as aforesaid, of their *Cruel VVhippings*, and that it preached more than a *Sermon*, though it cost *Dear* those *Servants* of the *Lord*.

W. Brend.
J. Copeland.

Whipt cruelly with Rods,
9th day, 12th
Month, 1657.

Edw. Perry.

Thus they began, and so they proceeded; and having none before, they now proceed to make *Laws* after that they have done.

done the Executions. This is the *Justice* and *Law* of *Plimmouth Patent*, which *Mischief* makes, and *Blood* acts, of which *many* of the *Servants* of the *Lord* have born the *smart* on their *Bodies*, but you must in your *Spirits* (the *Indignation* of the *Lord*) if not in *Soul* and *Body* too, which will on you and them certainly fall, and divide you your *Portion* with *Hypocrites* and *Sinners*. And the *time is near* wherein the *Lord* will do it, and fulfil the *Word* which he hath spoken by me, and *Avenge* the *Blood* and *Sufferings* of his *Servants*, and *Plead* their *Cause*, and *Execute Judgment* for them upon you, and that in the *sight* of the *Heathen*, who, because of it, shall say, *Verily there is a Reward for the Righteous: Verily there is a God that judgeth in the Earth.*

—With this they are not satisfied, but as *Men* in a *Fire*, the more they drink, the more they thirst; for the *Fire* being stronger than the *Drink* turns that into its own nature: So the more they drank of *Blood*, the more the *Desire* of it did inflame them, and so *Humphrey Norton* and *John Rous* aforesaid found it soon, on whose *Backs* they laid, viz. on *Humphrey Norton* Three and *Twenty* Lashes, and on *John Rous* Fifteen, which as it drew store of *Blood*, so it took much with the *Spectators*, who beheld them in the *Stocks*, first praying, then saluting each other, and bidding the *Executioner* have patience a little, when he came to take off their *Cloaths*, and he should see they could give their *Backs* to the *Smiter*. And this they received for no other thing, but for Coming into that *Colony* in the *Will* of *God*, upon the *Grounds* and *Reasons*, expressed in a *Paper* unto the *Magistrates*, which they gave to them, when they were demanded wherefore they came in; and which the *Magistrates* did neither receive, nor would suffer to be read. And so *Envious* were they, that for taking *John Rous* by the hand, they put *Three* of the *Inhabitants* of *Sandwich* in the *Stocks* when he came from before them.

Neither were they satisfied, But *Christopher Holder*, and *John Copeland* being apprehended by the *Marshall Barloe* and *Constable*, on the *Twenty third* of the *Fourth Month*, 1658. as they were going to a *Meeting* at *Sandwich*, were Apprehended; and because the *Select men*, who were appointed at *Plimmouth* to see the *Execution*, would not do it, he had them to *Barnstable*, where

Hump. Norton.
John Rous
whipt.

Chr. Holder.
John Copeland.
23d day, 4th
Month, 1658.

where *they*, being tyed to an *Old Post*, had *Thirty three* cruel *They are whipt*
Stripes laid upon them with a *New tormenting Whip*, with *with 33 lashes.*
Three Cords, and *Knots* at the *Ends* of them, made by the *Mar-*
shal and brought with him. At the sight of which *cruel* and
bloody Execution, one of the *Spectators* (for there were *many*
 that witnessed against it, cryed out in the *Grief* and *Anguish* of
 her spirit (the *Execution* so pressing her, being a *Woman*) said, *A Woman cry-*
 — *How long, Lord, how long shall it be ere Thou avengest the Blood* ing out to see
of thine Elect? and afterward bewailing her self and lamenting the *Execution.*
 her loss, said, — *Did I forsake Father and Mother, and all my dear*
Relations, to come to New-England for this? Did I ever think
that New-England would come to this? Who would have
thought it? — And this *Thomas Hinckley* saw done, to whom
 the *Marshal* repaired for that purpose, he being the man who
 brought in that *Law of sitting* for not coming to their *Publick*
Meetings, which bears his Name; and none but he was *bloody*
 enough for the *Marshal's* turn to see it done; and which being
 done, and he having glutted himself with the *Blood* of the *In-*
nocent, the *Marshal* had them back to *Sandwich* (where he
 had kept them from the *Twentythird* to the *Twenty ninth* of the
 said *Month* in his own house, before he brought them to *Barn-*
stable, because none there would see them *whipt*) and the
Morrow after, out of the *Jurisdiction*. After this *John Copeland*
 and *Josiah Coal*, being in a *Friends* house at *Sandwich*, were *5th day, 9th*
 haled out by *Violence* and so imprisoned. *Month, 1658.*

Thus as to *Whippings* and *Scourgings*. Now as to *Fines* and
Confiscation of *Estates*, and particularly of the *Inhabitants* of
Sandwich, whose *sufferings* have been *very* great, so that it is
 much that they subsist to this day, or have any *Bread* for them-
 selves and *Families*; But it manifests the *Eternal Arm* of the
Lord, and that his *Almighty Power* it is that is *underneath* and
 bears them up, and his *Tender Compassion* that they sink not.
 And what sence the *Country* hath had of it, even all of all sorts,
 except the *Bloody Persecutors* themselves, and such as are in
 their spirit, I have shewn already in the *Letter* before rehear-
 sed; should I go further I should be too tedious. The *Lord*
 hath seen it, and He regards it, and He will visit it. Upwards
 of *Nine Hundred Pounds* we have had an *Account* of that *they*
 have suffered in *this* kind, in that *One* poor *Town*, besides
 S others.

Suffering of
Friends in
Sandwich as
to Fines and
Confiscation
of Estates.

A wicked
Speech of
Tho. Prince,
the Governor
as to these
People.

others. What since they have suffered we know not : Yet *they* are alive, and the Lord keeps *them*, and they are *fresh* unto God, and He bears *them* through and over *All*, to the Astonishment of their Enemies ; who see that something is with *them* more than *Man* to bear *them* up ; yet they suffer Cruelty to go over *them*, and go on therein, and will know no shame : but the Day is near, wherein they shall see and be ashamed for their Envy to His People, and their great Oppression ; who have Oppressed not only a *Man* and his *House*, yea a *Man* and his *Heritage*, but *Men* and their Houses, *Men* and their Heritages ; yea (as it were) a *Township* of *Men*, a *Township* of *Heritages* : Therefore hath the Lord devised an Evil against *You*, ye Rulers of *Plimouth Plant*, and *Thou* Governor *Thomas Prince*, who saidst, — That in thy Conscience (and what Conscience hast thou that speakest so wickedly of an Innocent People, who fear the Lord ?) They were such a People that deserved to be destroyed, *they*, their Wives and Children, their Houses and Lands, without Pity or Mercy (who are the People of the Lord, and are innocent as to *You*, and whom the Lord will own) and hast acted in Order thereunto, *Thou* and *Thy* Companions (as *Dan. Danison* in *Boston*, (who would often say, that *those* People and *They* could not well live together, and that *they* were the stronger, and that others must fend off ; and this in Open Court : plainly intimating their Intent to root *them* up, as the End of all their Cruelty and Blood) I say to *You* all in the Word of the Lord, whose Word He will fulfill, and the Eyes of *those* who are living shall see it, That against *you*, even against *You*, against the whole Family of *You*, ye wicked and bloody Persecutors of the Innocent People of the Lord, who are your Neighbours and Country-men, who suffered with you because of Conscience, and with *you* came into that Country for their Consciences ; whom *Ye* would destroy, root out, pluck up, and against whom ye act all these Outrages and Violences for that purpose, without Compassion or Mercy ; who your selves were not so dealt with : but the Lord hath tried *You*, and enabled poor People to bear what ye could do, whilst He hath suffered *Ye* thus to do for your Tryals sake : I say once more to ye all in the Name and Authority of the Eternal God, who lives for Ever, who is in me and with me, whose Word is in my mouth and in my heart, whose Word it is, and it shall not fail,

fail, That against *You* hath the Lord Devised an *Evil*, from which *Ye* shall not remove *Your* Necks, neither shall *Ye* go haughtily, but as *Ye* have done, it shall be done unto *You*, and in the *Cup* which *You* have filled unto *Others*, it shall be filled to *You* again; and the Lord will *cut ye off*, and give ye *Your* Portion with *Hypocrites* and *Sinners*. And His *People*, whom *Ye* have sought to *root out*, and thus cruelly to kill, shall dwell in the Land, and great shall be the *Encrease* of His *People*; and He will *plant them*, and they shall not be *plucked up*; and He will *build them*, and they shall not be *pulled down*; and they shall long enjoy the Works of their Hands, the Plant of His planting, the Work of His Hands, that He may be Glorified: And a *Blessing* shall they be to the *Nation*, and Men shall say of it, *Blessed be thou, O Habitation of Justice, O Mountain of Holiness!* And *Nations* shall flow unto *Thee*, and *Kings* to the *Glory* of thy *Rising*; and they shall call thee the *Blessed* of the Lord, and thine Off-spring with thee: And the *Devourer* shall no more enter into thy Land, nor him that doth oppress; but I will make thy Officers *Peace*, and thine *Exactors* *Righteousness*, saith the Lord. And as for *Thee*, O thou Town of *Sandwich*, and my *People* in it, who have suffered joyfully the *spoiling* of your *Goods*, and endured as seeing Him who is *Invisible*, and have manifested it by your not *Returning* again, though you had many an Opportunity great and pressing, that *You* seek another *Country*, whose *Builder* and *Maker* is *God*. Thus saith the Lord, —Thou art a pleasant smell to me, and a cluster of *Grapes* that hang together on the *stem*, in which is new *Wine*. Thou shalt not be broken, neither shalt thou be rooted up; but men shall say of thee, *Destroy it not*, for there is a *Blessing* in it. And I will delight in Thee to do Thee Good; I will build Thee, I will plant Thee, I will rejoyce over Thee with Joy; yea, I will joy over Thee with shouting; and mine Arm shall be made bare in the midst of Thee, and I will recompence thy *Sufferings*, saith the Lord; and Thou shalt be a *Crown of Glory* in the hand of the Lord, and a *Royal Diadem* in the hand of thy *God*; and thy *Walls* shall be before me night and day, and I will watch over Thee for Good, and will nourish Thee, and great shall be the *Encrease* of thy *Peace*: I will build Thee, and Thou shalt be builded; I will plant Thee, and thou shalt be planted; I will cause my Love to rest upon Thee, and Thou shalt be Mine,

said the LORD, the Mighty God of Jacob.

Now as to *Them* who suffered, some of *their* Names are—

Rob. Harper. Robert Harper, of whose was seized

{	5th Month, 1658. Two Oxen (all that	1.	s.	d.
	he had fit to work) One Heifer, and	14	00	00
	One Bull			
{	12th Month, 1658. Five Cows (all			
	the Cattel he had) His House and	30	00	00
	Land			

For not Swearing, &c. The Marshal when he went to take some of the Cattel, passed by him, and told him not what he was going about: So they have all, yet they turned him not out of Doors, but left him One Cow, which was so poor, that she was ready to dye; and this was all they left him for the Relief of himself and Family.

Ralph Allen
the elder.

<i>Ralph Allen</i> the elder, from whom they took	1.	s.	d.
Two Kine, and One Steer	12	00	00
One Mare, and One Colt	20	00	00
One Horse, with a Bridle & Saddle	09	10	00
One Oxe, and Two Kine	14	10	00
More, Two Oxen	12	00	00

Having not Convicted him personally, for he was absent, yet took from him as afore said, for not Swearing and Meetings, and for 45 s. pretended to be in Arrears, the Marshal marked One Ox and One Cow; and when they came to drive away the Cattle, took One Cow more unmarked, giving no account wherefore they took her; and the Marshal said to him that he never would—

Joseph Allen

<i>Joseph Allen</i> , who was plundered of	1.	s.	d.
Two Pair of Wheels	02	16	00
One Cloak (being as good as New)	02	16	00
which cost him			

So they take away their Coats and their Cloaks, and their other Cloathing (as by and by will be made more to appear) when they have nothing else for their Obedience to the Lord.

Thomas

Thomas Greenfield, from whom they
took—

l. s. d.

One Cow ————— 04 00 00

with all the Corn that was in his House, and
other Goods not known how much, which *they* seized on after
he was gone out of the Colony, (*as they* also Convicted *him*)
to take Shipping for England, George Barloe, the Cruel Marshal
came and Thresh't out the Corn, and made waste thereof, and
carried away the Goods for fifteen Pounds Fine for not Swear-
ing, and nine Pounds for Meetings, and three Pounds for Re-
sisting the said Marshal, (as they pretended whose Principle is
otherwise) and not assisting *him* who came into *his* House late
in the night, when he was in his Bed, and *three* men with him,
and asked him for strangers, (or such as they call *Quakers*)
and required him to go with *him* (the said Marshal) to look af-
ter *Quakers*, (a most unnatural thing being *his* Friends and
fellow Sufferers; which *he* refusing to do (as was right) *he*
used much Violence to *him*, and halled *him* out of *his* Bed, and
then accused *him* for Resisting *him*, or striking of *him*, which
those in bed with *him* affirm to be a false Accusation. Neverthe-
less *he* to whom Violence was thus used, was Accused of Violence
(who offered none) and fined for it, and for other things, as
aforesaid, and the Goods found in the House and Corn (after *he*
was gone away) thus taken, though Two men Justified to
the Marshal that it was neither *his* Corn, nor Goods.

Edward Perry, whom they Deprived
of —————

l. s. d.

Edw. Perry

Three Kine, two Heifers ————— 18 00 00

Six Hides, five half Hogsheds of Tarr ————— 09 10 00

A Hoghead of Feathers ————— 01 10 00

Five Cowes, and four Steers ————— 39 10 00

A two years and the Vantage Steer and Heifer — 06 00 00

His best Working Oxe ————— 06 00 00

Two Firkins of Butter ————— 02 18 00

A Box with Writings and Money in it ————— 06 10 00

89 18 00

Which

12th Moneth, Which the Cruel Marshal took from him for Meeting together,
 1658. and refusing to Swear, &c. notwithstanding that when the Ma-
 1. Moneth, gistrates came to *Sandwich*, to Convict those that Met toge-
 1659. ther to wait upon the Lord, he was not at Home; Neverthe-
 4th. Moneth, less thus they dealt with him, though not personally Convicted,
 1659. and left him but one Cow, which the Marshal seized upon after-
 7th. Moneth, wards, and so wickedly he proceeded with him, that he would
 1659. drive his Cattel from him, and pass by him with them as if they
 were not his, or that he were not concerned so much as to be
 taken notice of as to what he had done; One Ox he drove away
 and told him not of it till about a week after (see how the poor
 Innocent Lambs are put to it in their Patience) And his Beef
 he would take away out of his Tubb (about a Bushel at one
 time) and make merry with it with his Companions, Saying,
It was the Countreys Beef; And because he had killed a fat Cow
 ere the Marshal seized her, he made a great ado about it, and
 as good a Cow was required of him that killed her, and John Al-
 den the Treasurer, sent a Warrant to the Constable to apprehend
 the man, and bring him to *Plimsmouth*, and deliver him to the
 Marshal, there to be kept till the first Month 1659. this being
 the ninth Moneth, 1658. (thinking thereby to constrain ano-
 ther Cow, so greedy were they) whither he was brought and
 bound by John Alden, and W. Collier, to let them have as good a
 Cow, and to answer it the next Court, though he was but as Ser-
 vant to Edward Perry in what he did, and the Cow was not sei-
 zed, before he had knockt her down. So another Cow was sei-
 zed on of Edward Perry's, and two before, which made it three,
 for Five Pounds, worth Eleven. And when the Marshal had
 taken his Box, and Writings, and Money, and Plate therein, to
 hide his Theft he raised a Report, as if the Papers discovered
 some design to cut them off by the Morrow night (who were
 thus sought to be destroyed, who destroy none) and Men he
 would needs Press to secure Edward, when as it was no such
 thing; and this he did when he was so Drunk, that he could
 hardly forbear Vomiting in the bosome of him whom he pre-
 tended to Press. And so Vile and wicked was this Marshal,
 that when a friend of Edward Perry, (whom he took with him
 on Purpose) asked him, How he could wash his hands of the Box
 of Writings, and Plate, &c. which he had taken out of the said
 Edward's

Edward's House without a VVarrant, and sought to Conceal (for he would not confess to the Particulars when Edward demanded the Particulars of him) He in a Scoffe said, — *I will wash my Hands,* — and so rubbed them one in another. And when Edward's friend Replied again, — *Yea, George thou mayst wash thy Hands, but thou canst not wash thy Heart.* — He Answered still laughing and jeering, and said, — *Yea, One Dram of the Bottle will do it.* — and clapt his hand on his Bosom. Unto which kind of washing (it seems) he is used to much, viz. to be Drunk, and then to be mad, and to beat his Wife and Children like a Mad man, and to throw the things of the House from one place to another. And yet this is the extraordinary Marshal of the Court of Plimmouth Patent, made on purpose for Three Townships, viz. Sandwich, Barnstable and Yarmouth, to Vex, Rob, Spoil, and Undoe those Innocent People (whose heart was hard enough for that purpose, and his hands Bloody) and to hunt after their Meetings, which he useth to do up and down in the Woods, Tracking them by the Print of their Feet, as Dogs do Beasts of Prey, and Disturbing them there, and haling and pulling them, when he finds them Meet, and treading on their Feet, and turning up their Hatts, pretending he doth not know them, and threatening them with the Stocks, and smoking Tobacco among them (he and his Companions, and sometimes summoning them in their Meetings to appear at Court) (Fourteen he Summoned at one time as they were Met together them, waiting on the Lord on a First Day of the Week, to appear at Plimmouth (Twenty Miles distant) the next Day; where they were fined five Pounds a piece for refusing to Swear. At another time he summoned Ten more, to appear at the Eighth Month Court, 1658. at Plimmouth, to take the Oath of Fidelity, and this is part of the Disturbance the Innocent Laibes of Christ have had in their Peaceable Meetings, waiting on the Lord, by this Woolf, but in the Lord they have Peace) and asking their Names (on purpose to Molest them) though known to be of that Township; and then Presenting them for Meeting (whom in their Meetings he thus disturbed) and Executing the Fines on them for Meeting, in that Cruelty as is already, and shall be mentioned, and far more than here is room to express; Imprisoning them, and haling them to Prison and their Friends, and

Disturbances
of Meetings by
the Marshal
George Bayles
and his Hume-
ings after

and Whipping of them, and Searching of *their* Houses by day, and by night; and when *they* are forth, prying into *their* Houses to see what *they* have there, and stealing away that which *he* should not. A Whoremonger, that abused an *Indian Woman* (on whom the Terrors of God fell, but he got off *them*, and so is hardned to the purpose) a *Liar*, a *False-Swearer*, a *Man* of a *Seared* Conscience, without Remorse, a *Member* of their Church, a *fit* Person to Hunt and Vex the *Servants* of the *Lord* (which *he* used before *he* was chosen to that Office, and so was approved unto *them* before *they* took *him* in) and *Samuel Nash*, the *Country Marshal*, and *Richard Cadwel* his Assistant. *He* took a *Horse* that was none of *Edward Perry's* forceably away for *Edward Perry's* fine, which *Edward Perry* had the use of the *Horse* to carry a bag of Corn to one to whom *he* Owed it, which *he* finding at the door, forceably took it away as aforesaid, and *one Edward Fish* assisted him (but the Countrey would not, seeing it so manifestly unjust) and this *he* did, though *Edward Perry* often told *him* that the *Horse* was none of *his*.

Richard Kirby Richard Kirby, and his Son Richard;

and his son from whom was taken —

Richard Eight Kine (one having a Bell about her

14th day 7th neck as the Leading Cow for the rest

Month, 1659. of the Cattel) two Oxen, one Calf.

Two Steers, three bushels of Corn —

One Steer and a Calf —

l. s. d.

— 47 00 00

07 12 00

03 00 00

54 12 00

Also the Marshal seized all his Corn and said, if *he* would thresh it out for *him* the Week following, *he* would leave *him* enough to pay *his* Rent, and some to Eat. After which *he* took away the three Bushels of Wheat as aforesaid, and all this for not Swearing, (being fined Court after Court) and for Meetings, and refusing to go with the Marshal, to assist *him* in the search for Friends, for which *Richard* the *Tonger* was fined 20 s. (a most unreasonable thing, and betokening the height of Devilish wickedness) but as for the last Cow and Calf, *they* know not wherefore *he* took them away, for *he* had said before, that *he* had seized on as much as would satisfy the fine.

George Allin, from whom they took—

	l.	s.	d.
One Cow; three Heifers—	11	10	00
Two Oxen, and two Calves—	14	05	00
	25	15	00

For refusing to Swear, &c. though he had told them he had taken the Oath in England, &c.

William Allin, who was Robbed of—

	l.	s.	d.
Four Kine, one Steer, a Heifer—	20	00	00
Two Oxen, five Kine, two Calves—	38	10	00
One Mare, and half of a Horse—	19	10	00
About eight bushels of Corn and a Hoghead—	01	07	00
Three young Cattel, Vallued at—	06	00	00
Corn taken away, esteemed worth—	01	10	00
	86	17	00

His Fines were Forty Pounds for having Twenty Meetings of the People called *Quakers* in his House. Four Pounds for being at Meetings abroad. Five Pounds for Entertaining those People, but he Entertained none. Twenty five Pounds for not Swearing (they Summon them three times a year, as oft as they have Courts for that purpose, and Fine them Five Pounds Each, so to make an end of them) They left him but one Cow, which they pretend is out of Pitty, but what their Pitty is more than a Robbers on the high way, that takes away all a man hath, and then gives him a Penny, I leave to be Judg'd. Also they took from *William Allin*, One brass Kettle worth twenty five Shillings, for twenty Shillings fine which the Governor put upon him for his Hat, though the Summons, or the Occasion was upon pretence that he should break into another Man's house (upon which pretence they also summoned others to have occasion against and to Reproach them, who were well known to be other manner of People) which was because he went (as did the others aforesaid) to see two Friends there in Prison, the door being open of which the man of the house cleared him; (as he did them all.)

Math. Allin
18th. of the
1st Month.
1659.

<i>Mathew Allin</i> , from whose Family they			
have pluckt—	1.	s.	d.
<i>One Heifer, seven small Cattel</i> —	13	00	00
<i>Five Kine, two Oxen</i> —	31	00	00
<i>One Bull</i> —	03	00	00
<i>Corn unmeasured esteemed worth</i> —	01	16	00
	48	16	00

The Marshal left him but one Cow, who when he came from work with his Ox in his hand, and found the Marshal driving away his Corn in a Cart, he stept before the Oxen, and stopping *them* demanded their Order, and what *they* had to do to take away the Corn his Family should Eat? (for it is not there as in Old England, where a man may easily have what Corn *he* please, but *every* man in Summer provides for his Winter fare, of which being deprived, it may prove a hard matter for *him* to be supplied) whereupon the Marshal took away his Ox, but shewed no Order. And all this for *refusing* to Swear (for which he demanded of him *ten* Pounds, after that *he* and *Samuel Nash* (the Country Marshal aforesaid) had seized on *three* Cows in Consideration thereof). And for *Meeting* together to wait upon the Lord (for which they had marked *seven* Yearlings, and *two* Working Oxen (which were *all* the Working Oxen he had) *three* young Cows, and a Bull of *three* years old, (a parcel of *them* which he took out of the Woods unknown to the said *Mathew* and drove *them* away) and then asked *him* for *more*, for that there was not enough to satisfy the fine. And when the said *Mathew* made up the Fence, which the Marshal had thrown down, that so the Cattel he had took from the said *Mathew* might eat up his hay, The Marshal asked him if *he* knew what he did? Adding moreover,—*That the House and Ground was his, if he would,*—(so what could *he* have more) and *Richard Cadwel* (his Companion in Cruelty as aforesaid) said *We must suppress you, or you will go to Hell alive.*—

A Desperate speech, and as Desperate a Course, which is that, which they and (and you) take for the saving of their Souls as ye pretend, (put the case they were deceived, which they are not, but are in the Truth, out of which you are who take such courses to Convince as to Truth) by the destruction of their Bodies,

A Desperate
speech, of *R.*
Cadwal, one of
the Marshal's
Assistants.

Bodies, and all that they have. Indeed were I to choose I should never love such a Religion, which would destroy my Body for my Conscience. Yet this is the Religion of New-England.

William Gifford, from whom they have taken, —

	l.	s.	d.
Four Steers, two Heifers, one Bull, —————	25	05	00
Three Kine, and half a Horse, —————	17	10	00
Five young Cattel, and half a Swine, —————	15	04	00
For 10 l. Fine for refusing to Swear, the Marshal took 5 head of Cattel, (viz. Two Heifers and Three Steers) prized at 13 l. 04 s. 00 d.	57	19	00

and a Calf, and a half Swine at 2 l. In all, 15 l. 04 s. And for coming to Meetings, he was Convict by the Magistrates (though properly so it cannot be called) when he was not there, and the Distress leavied by the Marshal, who came into his House, and into his Chambers, and viewed his Corn, and said that was not enough for them, he must abroad, and abroad he went (that is, into the Woods, where his Cattel were) and the said Nath, and Cadwel with him, and took of his Cattel what they pleased; and made use of such of them as he (the said Marshal) would at Plough and Cart. For, no other Cause (as I have said) but for Meeting (he and his wife) with the People of the Lord; and for that in Conscience to the Command of Christ he could not Swear.

Thomas Ewer, who was wronged of —

	l.	s.	d.
In Money which the said Cadwel owed him } for his hard Labour and detained in his } hand. }	07	13	00
In Money taken out of his House —————	06	17	00
In a Chest, Cloathing, New Cloath with } other Goods }	10	10	00
In another Chest Valued at —————	00	08	00
	25	08	00

For twenty Pounds, ten Shillings, for refusing to

W. Gifford.
10th Moneth,
1658.
1st. Moneth,
1659.
2th. Moneth,
1659.

Tho. Ewer.
17th. of the
10th. Month,
1658.

Swear, and for being at Meetings, which the Marshal and the said Cadwel took from him, viz. his Chest with 61. 17 s. in Money in it, a Suit of Cloaths even as good as New, a New Bed and Bolster Tick, ten yards of Canvas, a New Blanket, about 18 l. of Sugar, four yards of Kersey, a pair of Stuff Breeches, a yard and a half more of Stuff, about half a pound of Thred, four yards of Binding, three or four dozen of Buttons, with other small things, he knew not how much. The New Cloath the Marshal cut out, and put upon his Own Back, which *Tho. Ewer* seeing him have On in the Court, he asked them, *Whether they owned George Barloe in wearing of his Cloath?* (When they sent for him (the said *Thomas*) to take the Oath of Fidelity) The Governor Replied, — *That if he could prove that George Barloe had wronged him he might seek his satisfaction.* — And sentenc'd him (the said *Thomas*) to be laid neck and heels together, which was the Injustice he received at their hands in stead of Satisfaction: And the said Cadwel told him when he demanded his money aforesaid earned of him by his hard labor, viz. Seven Pounds thirteen Shillings. — *That he was a Transgressor of the Law.* — Cruel Men, who thus keep from him the Labourers hire, which crieth out against them, and because of which is the Woe, Spoken of by the Prophet, Mal. 3. 5. Even that the Lord will come near to judgement and be a swift Witness against those that Oppress the Hireling in his Wages, and fear not me saith the Lord of hosts. And, *Thou shalt not defraud thy Neighbour neither Robb him; The wages of him that is hired, shall not abide with thee all night until the morning,* Lev. 19. 13. Also his Axe was taken away with which he wrought, worth three Shillings, for ten Pence charge to the Countrey; and for another ten pence Rate to the Country, *Thomas Toby* the Constable finding the said *Thomas Ewers* Bag of Corn at the Mill (what narrow Inquisition do they make, and what huntings are here even for the Bread of the Opprest, and the Instruments of their labor by which they get their Bread? when as it is said, *No man shall take the Nether or the Upper millstone to Pledge, for he taketh a mans Life to Pledge,* Deut. 19. 16.) And it's said to be the standing Law of the Countrey; yet how is it gone against, and the very expresse Law of God, to Oppress and take from him (which is more than to Pledge) that which the Law of God saith

Bread Corn
taken from the
Mill, for their
fines, and their
working tools.

saith his Life?) took *half* a Bushel out of it, which was worth *Eighteen* Pence.

William Newland was Pillaged of—

W. Newland.

	l.	s.	d.
One Mare, one Horse, two Kine, ———	36	00	00
For not <i>Swearing</i> , and being at the <i>Meetings</i> , and for <i>Entertaining</i> of, being with, and <i>adhearing</i> to those People; and for these Things, <i>he</i> and his Brother <i>Henry</i> of the Town of <i>Duxbury</i> , were Disfranchized. They were summoned for this in the <i>Eighth</i> Moneth, 1659. and in the Record of their Disfranchizement, <i>William</i> (is said) to be Entred first, and then two others, who were so sentenc'd, the one for Drunkenness, the other for some evil of another kind, and <i>Henry</i> last. So numbring them among Transgressors.			

Hen. Howland of *Duxbury*.

Daniel Wing, from whom they took—

Dan. Wing.

	l.	s.	d.
Three Kine, ———	12	00	00

For the *Hat* fined *twenty* Shillings and for not *Swearing*.

Ralph Allin the Younger, from whom they also took—

Ralph Allin the younger.

	l.	s.	d.
Four Cows, ———	18	00	00
One Weather Sheep for 20. s. for the <i>Hat</i> .			

Peter Gaunt, from whom was taken—

Peter Gaunt.

	l.	s.	d.
Five Kine, two year Heifers ———	30	00	00
One Mare, two three year Steers ———	12	00	00
Eight Bushels of Pease. (as some said) ———	01	04	00
Four Bushels of Indian Corn, } ———	00	10	06
And } ———			
Half a bushel of Wheat. } ———			

For his, and his Wifes being at Meetings, and for having a Meeting in their House, and for Taxes to the Countrey, which he could not pay, viz.

to.

to maintain the Table of that Court which sat to make Laws against them, and to rob them of their Goods. And *for* the bloody Marshal was hard at it again; and got two Men and threshed out his Pease, and took them, and Marked his Cattel, and let them run, till near the later end of the third Moneth, (which was some time) and then took them up; During which Interval of time, *one* of the Cows dying, the Marshal demanded the *Hide*, and also marked a living Cow, in the dead Cows stead, which *he* had marked, and not took away, but died in the time that he left the said Cow, and the rest of the Cattel that *he* had marked, a pretty space of time, on the said *Peters* hands. — And this they did to *him* though *he* had lived at *Sandwich* about *100* and *twenty* Years; and was one of the first settlers up of their Publick Church Worship; And a (sometime) Member of *their* Church, and *never* Excommunicated by *them*, but left *them* for Truth's sake, and One that had formerly taken the Oath of Fidelity: And for not *Training* (though *he* was a man of *great* years, and by reason thereof might require a Dismiss) they fined him 10. s. and Destrained Pewter for it as they pleased, with which sort of household Goods a man cannot easily be supplied again. Yea so unreasonably, and with Cruelty was *he* used, that they compelled *this* old man to appear before them at *Plimmouth*, (20 Miles distant) and there the Governor fined him 20. s. for not putting off his Hat, (and for this they Destrained a young beast worth 35. s.) Indeed Captain *VViller* aforesaid, said to his Wife, that He took God to witness, that he desired not a farthing of their Goods, nor the aking of one of their fingers; — but how he hath had to do with their Goods, in taking it from, and impoverishing their Families, is more than manifest, and is hereafter Declared, and his fallhood therein, and his being bold with the Lord, in taking him to witness, whose witness is against him, and *he* will know it is so when it rises up in him (and rise it will) a worm that will never die, and a fire that will never go out. For *this* man hath had more than a little share in the Sufferings of the Innocent, not onely in *this* Plantation, but in that of the Dutch, where Robert Hodson (and others) suffered the most unheard of Cruelties in the English Nation, and for which I must reckon with him anon, whose Father, and *he*, fled into *Holland*, and so to New England for Liberty of Conscience.

John Jenkins was plundered of

Two Cows and one Steer

l. s. d. John Jenkins.

11 10 00

Money attached in James Skiff's hands,

8 00 00

(here's hard work indeed)

Also of his Pot wherein he boyled his Victuals, being not able to get another, till about a Year and a half afterwards; and was forced to borrow

during that space of time; which in Malice was done unto

him, for his Wife threw down a New Piece of Cloath, double

worth the sum; but nothing would satisfie but the Pot from

him, who lived about Sixty Miles from the Market where he

should supply himself again, and it was thus long ere he came

to be supplied. And this was for not Training: and though

he had lived at Sandwich about Ten years, and had Three

Children; and though the very first year he came he was made

a Free-man, and had his Vote in Town-meetings and Common-

Priviledges; yet he was denied his share in Whale-Oyl, which,

as a Free-man, sell to him: And the Constable said, he must

not speak, for he was no Free-man — And for not Swearing he

was fined, and distrayned, as aforesaid: And for coming to

Meetings, and for having a Meeting (or Meetings) at his house,

Thomas Prince the Governor, Capt. Willet, Thomas Hinch-

ley, and Josiah Winslow, were the Men that came and sate at the

House of Rich. Bourne, and fined him and others (to the num-

ber of Sixteen) the sum of Five pounds apiece, for refusing to

Swear; and, because they did not presently depart the Court,

the Governor cast Three of them into Prison, and there kept

them several days in the Cold weather from their Families) the

said Josiah (or Major) Winslow, (who for his Devilish Cruelty

to the People of the Lord gained this Promotion) shewing

much Vehemency and fierceness of spirit against them, some-

times starting up and smiting the Table with his Stick (he would

hardly stand to strike an Enemy so in the Field; these are brave

Fellows (as the Proverb is) at a Cudgel or Trencher where no

Enemy is) then with his Hand, then stamping with his Feet,

like a Madman, saying, — he could not bear it, and why? Be-

cause Robert Harper aforesaid desired to know, or that it might

be made appear, that that was the Connries Cow that Edward

Perry aforesaid had killed before she was attached by the

Marshal.

The Common Priviledge of Freemen denied.

The Extream Madnes of Major Winslow against them

Marshal. And because *Thomas Ewer* spake of the *Marshal's* wearing of his *Cloathes*, which he had upon his back : and because the *Marshal* was charged with robbing *Edward Perry* of his *Goods*, and with seizing on their *Cattel*, and taking them away, when the *Owners* were abroad, and saying nothing to them when they pass by to take them. And further he the said *Winslow* said, — *Let them have the Strapado* ; who never knew (its like) what really belonged to a *Souldier*. Yet such as these are the *Cruel Executioners* of the *Innocent*.

<i>Mich. Turner.</i>	<i>Michael Turner</i> is the next, from whom	1.	s.	d.
	they took, <i>Nine Ewes</i> —————	13	10	00
<i>John Newland</i>	And from <i>John Newland</i> , <i>One Beast</i> , worth —	02	06	00

These are part of the *Sufferings* of the *Innocent*, and of the *Men* of *Sandwich*, and of the *People* of *Plimmouth Patent Jurisdiction* ; which I have set down, to the End that all may see what they have suffered, and what are the *Sufferings* of the *People* of the *Lord* in that Colony. I have not set down all, nor is all come to my hands ; but by what I have done as to the *Inhabitants* of one Town ; and to some of them, and that in a short space of time the rest may be judged ; and in what a Condition (as to Men) those *Servants* of the *Lord*, and the rest are, who and their *Wives*, *Children* and *Families*, lie under the *Cruelty* of such *Oppressors*, both as to their *Persons* and *Estates* ; And how to be considered and tendred ; Though as to their *Inward man* they are free in the *Lord*, and rejoyce that they have any thing to lose for the *Lord*, and for the sake of His *Truth*, who hath shewed unto them *Mercy*, and raised them out of their *Graves* ; and given them *Faith* in *God*, through the *Resurrection* of the *Dead*. Whose is the *Praise* and the *Glory*, and the *Dominion* for ever, for this His *visiting* of His *Inheritance*, and giving them to be able to suffer for his *Name*.

Now (as I said) these are not all that might be brought in to this Account ; For, *Thomas Johnson* had his *House* and *Land* seized on ; and the *Marshal's* daughter gathered the *Fruits* of his *Orchard* ; and when he demanded her *Order*, she said her *Father* would bring it (but he brought none) and other words she said, viz. — *That the Apples, and House and Land was not theirs,*

theirs; and when the Peaches were ripe, she would come and gather them also, (A sore Provocation, and enough to have put a Man on the Rack; but he was preserved quiet in the Will of the Lord, which to him was enough, and gave him Content, though he was a Cripple, and his Orchard and Garden, and the Fruits therein, was that which he made use of for the maintenance of him and his Family.) It was the 25th of the Sixth Month, 1659. that she came to gather the Fruits.

And, *Arthur Howland* (a man of near Seventy years of Age, *Arth. Howland* who had waited for the Salvation of God) living in a Town called *Marsfield* in that *Patent*, and bearing Testimony against the Ministry of Man, now that the Son is come; They distrained his Iron Furniture belonging to his Draught, which quite disabled him from making use of the same, and this for the Priest. And because he delivered not up *Robert Helgshone* (a Servant of the Lord, who so barbarously suffered in the Dutch Plantation, as hereafter is to be exprest) to the Constable, who had no Warrant, they fined him Five pounds, and for that took away (the 28th of the 3d Month, 1658.) a Steer and a Bull, for that which he conceived himself bound in Conscience to do, and the Instrument of O. P. (then in force) allowed to be done. Yet this would not satisfie them, but such was their Rage at the Old Man, that to Prison they would have, and to Prison they committed him in the depth of Winter, which as to men was as much as his Life, as was his coming thither, though he Appealed to the Chief Magistrate in England; for it was his Life they sought, and his Life they would have had (through such hardships as these, if those hardships to him by reason of his Age would have done it, I speak as to men) had not his Brother and Friends (who could not bear it) entered into a Bond for him. Thus (as you) neither regarding the Old man, nor the Young; neither the Hoary head, nor him that leaneeth on his Staff by reason of Age.

28th day, 3d
Month, 1658.

An Appeal to
England De-
nied.

I might also speak of *Henry Howland* of *Duxbury* aforesaid, *Hen. Howland* who for having a Meeting of Friends in his House, and not Swearing to make him a Jury-man, was fined Thirty shillings, which was levied upon him.

Further I might go, and relate of those who bore Testimony to your Faces in your Courts, against your Unjust Proceedings, and

Nich. Davis.

and oppressing of the *Innocent*, whom ye imprisoned; as *Nicholas Davis*, who being by at the Court in the 4th Month, 1659. when so many of the *Friends of Truth* were had before them, and sentenc'd for their refusing to swear in obedience to the Lord; and seeing how slight they made of the *Marshal's Cruelty*, and his *wicked and unjust Usages* of them as aforesaid, and destroying their *Cattel*, and vexing of them; Spreading his Arms abroad, spake in the *Testimony and Zeal* of the Lord — *That he was a Witness for the Lord against their Oppression* — and would have declared wherein, but they suffered him not to speak, and for speaking what he did, committed him to Prison. About which time also you imprisoned *Will. Laddra* and *Peter Pearson*, and continued them Prisoners about Ten Months in *Plim-mouth*.

Will. Laddra.
Peter Pearson.

But in these things (as I have said) I may not be too particular, lest these few Sheets of Paper (which are already *thus* many) should be increased into a Volume; There being so much, and of such varieties to speak, What I have said, being sufficient to evince to any sober men and of reasonable understandings, That never since the Earth was made, and the Foundations thereof laid, was there (all things considered) such *Abominable Wickedness* and *Cruelty* acted under the *vizor* of Religion.

Sufferings in
New-haven
Colony.

And here I may not only be confined, but to the next Plantation I must passe, to wit, That of *New-haven*, and there account with you (for through your Encouragement it was (as I have said) and by your Instigation, that these things have been done) for what was done in that Colony.

Humph. Norton

Apprehended,

Committed,

Cast into Pri-
son,

Chained to a
Post

12th Month,
1657.

11th day, first
Month, 1658.

Humphry Norton, coming into *Southhold* in his way to the *Dutch* Plantation, whither he was going to visit the *Seed* of the Lord, was that Evening apprehended, without being asked which way he travelled, or whither, and committed to the *Marshal*, and conveyed by Water to *New-haven*, and there cast into Prison, and chained to a Post, and kept night and day for the space of Twenty Dayes, with great Weights of Iron in an Open Prison, without Fire or Candle, or any suffered to come to visit him, in the bitter cold Winter (being the 12th Month, 1657.) Enough (reasonably) to have starved him: And on the 11th of the first Month, 1658. was had before their Court, and

and there was their Priest *John Davenport* (to whom *Humphry* had sent some *Queries*) And this Priest spake as he pleased before the People, and that in Answer to the *Queries*. And *H. Norton* endeavoured to make a *Reply*, but was not suffered to do, but instead thereof, had a great Iron Key tied athwart his Mouth, till the Priest had done (see what shifts the Priests make to secure what they say) who then fled away. After this *H. Norton* was had to Prison, and there detained for the space of Ten dayes, and then sentenc'd to be severely whipt, and to be burnt in the hand with the Letter [H] for *Heretic* (who was convicted of none) and to be sent out of the Colony, and not to return upon pain of the utmost Penalty they could inflict by Law; and to pay Ten pounds towards the Charge of the Court and Colony; And this to be done that Afternoon, as said the Judge. And the Drum was beat, and the People gathered, and he fetcht, and stript to the Waste, and set with his Back to the Magistrates, and given (in their view) Thirty six cruel Stripes; and then turned, and his Face set to them, and his Hand made fast in the Stocks (where they had set his Body before) and burnt very deep with a Red hot Iron; And then let loose, and had to Prison again, and tendered his Liberty, upon paying of the Fine and Fees, and there kept, till paid by a Dutch man (whose face he never saw before) viz. Twenty Nobles, which he paid for his Fine and Fees, out of Bowels of Compassion, when they had none engaged unto them to pay (without his consent) and which they wickedly received, not any one else appearing with him, or for him (so great was their Cruelty) only the Marshal would have forced Salves upon him for the killing of the Fire in his Hand; the which he refused: whereupon the Marshal asked him the reason why? being much tormented (for he was a very wicked man) — He answered, *I cannot suffer a Dog to lick my Sores* — (besides, the Lord healed him) *Am I a Dog then?* said the Marshal. When they had whipt *Humphry* with that Cruelty as aforesaid, and burnt him in the Hand, and had let him loose from the Stocks, he kneeled down and prayed to the Lord, uttering his Voice towards Heaven; to the Astonishment of them all.

To this Colony also came *William Brend* (of whom I have spoken) and divers other Servants of the Lord, as *Mary Dyar*, *Mary Dyar*.

A Key tyed athwart *Hamp. Nortons* mouth whilest the Priest was speaking. The Priests Security.

Sentenc'd to be severely whipt, and to be burnt in the hand &c. and Banish'd.

The Sentence Executed.

Mary Weather-
head & others.

What her sink-
ing in the Sea
signified.

who coming thither, was forced away; being set on a Horse by them, she cryed out, *Wo be unto you for Humphry Nortons sake, wo be unto you because of the Cruelty done to him!* But they turned away the Ear, and would not hearken; *Mary Weatherhead*, and others: but they were not suffered to speak, or to discharge their Consciences, or to unburthen themselves of the Weight of the Word of the Lord, which lay upon them; but were threatened, and sent away in the nature of Banishment; and *Mary Weatherhead* finished her Work in the Sea, and returned not to the place from whence she came. A true Figure of the state of the Men of this place, who refused the Loving-kindness of the Lord, and the Tender Visitation of his Love by his Messengers, whom he raises early and sends, whom they thus evil-entreat, and abuse; and so judge themselves unworthy of Eternal Life, and provoke the Wrath of the Lord to come upon them to the Uttermost. So the Lord is clear of their Blood, whether they will hear or forbear, and they shall know that his Prophets have been amongst them, in the Day wherein the Lord will judge the secrets of all hearts by the Man whom He hath ordained thereunto, whereof He hath given Assurance unto all men, in that He hath raised him from the Dead; who is King of kings, and Lord of lords; who only hath Immortality and Eternal Life; to whom be Glory, and Praise, and Dominion Everlasting: who cometh in Clouds, and every Eye shall see Him; those also who have pierced Him; and all Nations shall wail because of Him; even so Amen: Who is Alpha and Omega, the first and the last; He that was, and which is, and which is to come; the Lord God Almighty; who was dead, and is alive, and behold He lives for evermore, and hath the Keys of Hell and of Death; who will render to every man according to his Works, Amen, Hallelujah, Blessing, Honour, Glory and Power be unto Him that sitteth on the Throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever.

So see where you are, and in what case, ye Blood-thirsty Enemies of God; Ye Men of Boston, of Plimmouth Patent and New-haven; Ye Rulers of Sodom and Inhabitants of Gomorrah, who are hardened against the hour of your Visitation; whose Day is over; who delight in Blood, in the Blood of the Saints of the Most High God; to whom Blood will be given, for ye are worthy; The Lord will come upon ye, you that put his Day as an off,

off, and say, he delayes his coming : I say, He will come upon you in a day that ye think not of, and in an hour of which ye are not aware ; and will cut you assunder, and appoint you your Portion with Hypocrites and Sinners, and ye shall be cast into the Lake that burneth with Fire and Brimstone, there to be tormented with the Devil and his Angels ; which is the second death. It is so, it must be fulfilled ; the Judgment is gone forth, it may not be revoked ; Your Day is done ; The Measure of your Iniquity is near at the full ; The Deliverance of his People is at hand : You shall all of you receive according to your works : The Night is far spent, the Day is at hand, even the Day which shall not have an end, the Everlasting Day, the Day of the Lord, which will be Darknes unto you, and not Light ; a Day of Gloominess and thick Darknes unto you ; a Day of Sorrow and of the Shadow of Death : But a Day of Joy to the Righteous, and of Gladness of heart, a Day of Singing and of making Melody ; a Day of Shouting, and of great Joy, which shall last for evermore, Amen ; it is done. These Things are Faithful and True ; the true sayings of God, who liveth for ever, who is Great and Terrible ; whose Day is come, wherein He will be avenged on you, for the Blood of his Saints, and the Sufferings of his Servants, who have laid down their Lives, and suffered for his Name ; who have the Testimony of Jesus, which is the Spirit of Prophecy ; whom Ye have done Despight unto, and to their Message, and to Him that sent them ; and shed their Blood, and have thought Ye could never do Enough against that Name ; and have persecuted them from Town to Town, and from Colony to Colony, those who have born it ; and evil-entreated them, and sought to have cut them off ; (and have cut off some, He suffering ye so to do, that ye might shew what ye would do, and that it may appear that it is his Arm that stops ye, that suffered ye so to do) and their Name and their Remembrance from the Earth ; and to leave them neither Name or Remnant ; whom ye can never destroy (mind what I say) nor wear out ; though ye have tryed it as ye could, and may be suffered yet a little longer to fill up your Measure : But then shall your Destruction come, and that in a Moment ; and the Righteous shall have Dominion over you in the Morning ; Everlasting Joy shall be upon their heads, and Sorrow and Sighing shall flee away. And this I testify from the

the *Mouth* of the Lord, who hath *moued* me to speak, and to write *this* in his Name, that *your* Judgment ye may bear in *this* World, as well as in *that* which is to come; and be an Example of his *Vengeance* to the *Ages* to come, as ye have been in *Wickedness* and *Oppressing* the *Just*, and *making* sad the heart of the *Righteous*, whom the Lord hath not made sad; and *destroying* his *Heritage*, and *laying waste* his *Pleasant Place* in which he delights to dwell for ever and ever; by your *Cruelty* and *Blood*, and *grinding* of the *faces* of the *Poor*, and *eating up* the *Needy*, as one would eat Bread; The Lord God will come *swiftly* upon you, and will *remove* you, and *overturn* you, and be *glorified* in what He shall bring upon you, and ye shall know that He is the L O R D, and that He hath done all these things unto you for your manifold *Transgressions*, and your mighty *Sins*; who *afflict* the *Just*, and hate him that *reproveh* in the Gate, and *abhor* him that *speaketh uprightly*; whose *Treading* is upon the *Poor*, and who take from him Burdens of Wheat; and turn aside the *Poor* in the Gate from their Right: I say, Ye shall know that He is the L O R D, and that He is in these *People*, whom ye have set at nought and *reviled*, and *abused* and *wit-entreated* His *Witnesses*, and those He hath sent amongst ye to turn ye unto Him, who is Lord and King; and that there is *Salvation* in no other, nor any other Name under Heaven given among Men whereby we must be saved; who is the *Light* of the World, the true Light that *lighteth every man that cometh into the World*; who will *judge* ye for ever; whose *Judgment* is *just*; whose *Judgment* this is; who is King of *Righteousness*, and King of *Peace*; of the *Increase* of whose *Government* and *Peace* there shall be no end upon the *Throne* of David to order it, and stablish it with *Judgment* and with *Justice*, henceforth even for ever.

And thus have I dealt with you together, and together wrapt ye up, like as ye have been *folden* together as *Thorns*, & drunk as *Drunkards*; and while ye be *folden* together as *Thorns*, & while ye are drunk as *Drunkards*, ye shall be overtaken, and your Day shall come upon you, and you shall fall, and rise no more, saith the Lord; and you shall leave your Name a *Curse* unto his *Chosen*, who shall dwell in the Land and *inherit* it; and He will be unto them a God, and they shall be to Him a *People* (those that ye have thus set at nought and abused, and sought to root out, and cared not

what Cruelty ye caused them to undergo for that purpose, without Mercy, or Bowels or Compassion : And Judgment without Mercy ye shall have, that have shewed no Mercy ; And the Lord God shall slay you, and call his Servants by another Name, And ye shall be for a Taunt, and a Revröach, and a Hissing, and a Proverb, and a perpetual Desolation, saith the Lord ; and my Hand shall be stretched out against you, I will not spare you, nor pity you (as ye have shewed none) nor will I have Mercy, but my Judgment shall take hold on you, and my Terror shall seize upon you, and Fear shall be round about you ; Your young men shall fall by the Sword, your Wives shall be Widows, and your Children fatherless, they shall be continually Vagabonds, and beg, and seek their Bread also out of their Desolate places ; and I will accomplish my Wrath upon you in your Destruction ; and your Carcasses shall fall, and be as Dung on the face of the Earth ; and the Worm shall be spread under ye, and the Worms shall cover you : They shall not say of you, Ah, Lord ! nor, Ah ! his Glory, but ye shall be cast forth without the Gates, and be buried with the Burial of an Ass, The Mouth of the Lord of Hosts hath spoken it. And ye shall know that I am the Lord, when I have finished the Thoughts of my Heart upon you, and have laid you low, even in the Dust ; and Men shall fear because of you, and what I will do unto you, saith the Lord : And mine Indignation shall smite against you ; and a fire shall be kindled in my Wrath, which shall burn to the nethermost Hell ; and it shall devour you as Stubble fully dry ; and your Iniquity shall lie upon your Bones, and you shall descend into the Pit, and there your Iniquity shall be visited upon you, saith the LORD, the Mighty God, the Holy One of Israel, and his King, who liveth for ever ; to whom is the Glory, and the Praise, and the Dominion for ever. The Burden of New-England is ended.

Yet have I not done with you, but must have another Reasoning for what the Servants of the Lord have suffered by occasion of You, in other as well as these Plantations.

Robert Hodgshone, a Servant of the Lord being at Hempstead in the Dutch Plantation in America near to New-England, and waiting there for Friends coming together in a Meeting, as he was walking in the Orchard, an Officer came and violently laid hold on him, and brought him before one Gildersecke an Eng-

Sufferings of Friends in the Dutch Plantation by occasion of the New English.

Rob. Hodgshone

lish-man,

lish-man, and a Magistrate there, who committed *him* to Prison, and rode to the Dutch Governor and acquainted *him* therewith, and came from *him* with a Guard of Musquetiers, and the *Fiscal*, who laid hold of *him* and searched *him*, and took away his *Knives* and *Papers*, and *Bible*, and so pinioned *him* all the Night and the next Day, that he could hardly help or refresh *himself* any wayes; and made diligent Enquiry after those that had entertained *him*, and took into Custody Two Women upon occasion thereof; One of whom had two small Children, the one sucking at her Breast; and got a Cart and conveyed the Women away in it, and Robert also, whom they fastned to the hinder part of the Cart, pinioned, and so drew *him* and *them* through the Woods in the Night season, whereby *he* was much torn and abused: And at the Town called *New-Amsterdam*, loosed *him*, and led *him* by the Rope with which he was fastned to the Cart, to the *Dungeon*, into which *he* was cast (a filthy, miry, unholson place, and full of Vermin) and the Two Women to another place, and there continued *them* during their pleasures.

Their Court coming to sit, they called *him* before *them*, and took *his* Examination in writing, and committed *him* to the *Dungeon* again, and afterwards had *him* forth, and read this Sentence to *him* in their own Language, which the aforesaid Capt. Willet of Plimmouth Patent (who was much the occasion of *his* Sufferings, by incensing the Governor against *him*, and those People with Lyes and Falshoods, who before was moderate to *them*, and Robert was with *him*) which was to this Effect — *It is the General's Pleasure that you work two years at the Wheel-barrow with a Negro, or pay, or cause to be paid Six hundred Gilders.* —

To this *he* attempted to make his Defence in a sober Reply, but *he* was not suffered to speak, but was had away, and returned to the *Dungeon* again, and there kept; and no English suffered to come to *him* for several dayes. Then they took *him* out, and pinioned *him*, and set *his* Face towards the Court-Chamber, and took off his Hat, and read another Sentence to *him* in Dutch, which *he* understood not; but many of that Nation who heard it, shook their heads; and when it was done, cast *him* into the *Dungeon* again.

Out of which, after certain dayes, they drew *him* betimes in a Morning, and chained *him* to a *Wheelbarrow*, and commanded *him* to work — *he* answered, *He was never brought up, nor used to that Work* — Upon which they caused a *Negro* to take a *Pitch'd Rope*, nigh four Inches about, and to beat *him*; Who beat *him* with it till *Robert* fell down. Then they took *him* up, and caused the *Negro* to beat *him* with the said Rope until *he* fell down the second time: It was judged that *he* received about One hundred blows with the Rope as aforesaid. Then they forced *him* up with the Barrow to the Fort before the *Governors House*, and complained to *him*, that they could not make *him* work; and continued *him* chained to the Barrow all that day till about the Seventh or Eighth hour at night (about the middle of which the Sun shining very hot, and *his* Body being much bruised, and swell'd with the Blows, and kept without Food, *he* was very faint, and sate upon the Ground, waiting on the Lord, who was near unto *him*, and refreshed *him*, and made *him* whole) and then they loosed *him*, and put *him* in the Dungeon until the Morning, and then had *him* forth about the 6th hour, at which time they lockt *him* to the Barrow, as before, and a *Sentinel* set over *him*, that none might come so much as to speak with *him*, and there kept till the 7th at night, and then had to the Dungeon, and the next day had forth and chained in like manner, and then loosed, and had before the Governor, who demanded of *him* to work, *Otherwise* (he said) *he* should be whipt every day. *Robert* asked the Governor, *What Law* *he* had broken? and called for his *Accusers*, that *he* might know his *Transgression*; and told *him*, that if *he* were called to that work of the Lord, *he* should not refuse it — Then *he* was chained to the Barrow again, and threatened, that if *he* spake to any one, *he* should be punished worse. Yet his Mouth was opened to such as came to *him*, as *he* found it of the Lord. Then they seeing that they could not keep *him* silent, put *him* into the Dungeon again, and kept *him* close there several dayes, and two nights, one day and a half of it, without Bread or Water.

After this they took *him* forth very early in the Morning into a private Chamber, and stripped *him* to the waste, and hung *him* up by the Hands, and tyed a great Log of Wood to *his* Feet, so that *he* could not turn *his* Body, and set a strong Na-

gro with *Rods* to whip *him*, who laid many stripes upon *him* both *backwards* and *forwards*, which cut *his* *Flesh* very much, and drew much *Blood*.

Then they let *him* down, and put *him* into the *Dungeon* (too bad a place for *Swine*, being a stinking hole, full of *Vermin*) not suffering any to come to *him*, or to wash *his* stripes.

Within *Two* dayes after they had *him* forth again, and hung *him* up as before, and the *Jaylor* being very drunk, forced another *Negro* to lay many more stripes upon *him*, who seeing no End of *their* Cruelty, but in *his* *Life*, which *they* sought after, and being weary and faint; for it was hard to bear, but the *Lord* was near *him*, who suffered them not to take away *his* *Life*, which they drove at, and which was very near the taking away, *He* enabling *him* to bear, to see how far *they* would go; and being near, that it might not be taken away, gave *him* freedom to desire some time to consider, and to suffer some *English* to come at *him*; Which was granted, and an *English* Woman came, and washed *his* stripes; who seeing *him* brought so low in Body through those cruel Sufferings, was so in the sence thereof that she thought *he* would not live till the *next* morning, and so she told her Husband; which took such Impression upon him, that he went to the *Fiscal*, and proffered him a fat *Ox* to suffer *him* to be at his house until *he* was well: But the *Fiscal* would not, unless the whole *Fine* was paid; which many gladly would have done, but *he* could not suffer it. And within *Three* dayes after *he* was thus *whipt*, was *he* made whole, and as strong as ever, and free to labour.

This his freedom to labour was a great Torment to them on the other hand, whose Aim by their Cruelty, was to get Money; and a great Trouble it was to many both *Dutch* and *English*, that *he* could not Consent for the *Fine* to be paid (for they tendred *his* Sufferings) but rather would work, that he might not be burthensom to any; Nor could *he* eat the *Governors* Bread, except *he* wrought for it; Notwithstanding that little besides was brought to *him*, being not suffered so to be; and that which *he* wrought for was so coarse, that it troubled tender People that *he* should eat it, being such as they gave their Slaves; *he* chusing rather from a Contented Mind (being strong in the Lord, who had made *him* whole) so to do, than to put any to charge; being

being *unfree* so much as to receive of them to whom *he* ministered (the *English* that live there) because *he* saw how the *Dutch* sought to enslave them ; under *whom* they are in great Servitude, who went thither from the Plantations in *New-England* to enjoy *their* Consciences.

So *his* Life grew over *them*, and the Lord was with *him* ; And after that *he* had accomplished the measure of *his* Sufferings for the Seeds sake there, which the Lord suffered *them* to inflict upon *him*, to try how far *they* would go, and to disappoint *them* in their End ; in a very short time *he* was delivered out of Prison, contrary to the Expectation of *his* Enemies, without paying *One Penny*, or any *One* for *him*. In *their* wills *he* could not work, and suffered for it ; in the Will of the Lord *he* wrought, and was delivered for *his* Faithfulness to *Him* : The *Governors* Sister was instrumental in *his* Liberty, whom *his* Sufferings took deep upon, and being very sad, *he* asked the Cause, which *she* told *him*, and *he* set *him* free. Nor was the said *Willet* without *his* sence, but it was the Guilt which was upon *him*, because he was the occasion of *his* Sufferings by Lyes and Wickedness to advance his Merchandize the better, who was there a Factor, and to get in with the Governor, and that he was guilty was well known to the People.

Much more might be said of the Sufferings of *these* People in the *Dutch* Plantation (who are too much enclining to Cruelty themselves) through *your* Encouragement : For the Governor was very moderate before, when *Robert* was with *him*, and his Sister was the Means in which the Lord moved to work *his* Liberty, as I have said : but this *Willet* it was of *Plimmouth* Patent (who had his hand so deep there in the Sufferings of the Innocent as aforesaid) that made *him* Wrath, and so incensed *him*, that he grew very fierce and into great Enmity against *them*, and made a Law (through Example of *You*) That those who received any of *them* into their Houses, should pay Fifty pounds Sterling ; one Third part to the Informer, who should be concealed (the better to Encourage *them* in their Wickedness) And that if any Vessel should bring any of *them* into that Jurisdiction, it should be forfeited with the Goods (a high Imbargo) And so set *he* was against Liberty of Conscience, that he said, —That the Liberty of *his* Brother *Henry's* Conscience was in *his*

X 2

Breast,

Breast, striking his hand upon it ; And if *but One* were Entertained, and that *but One Night*, it was Fifty pounds Sterling (a sore Imposition, and full of Cruelty, taught by You) Notwithstanding there were that entertained *them* willingly, for which some were imprisoned, and some fined ; as *John Tilton*, and *Joan Chatterton*, and *Henry Townsend*, who was fined Five hundred Gilders, and threatned to be sent out of the Jurisdiction, about

John Tilton.
Joan Chatterton.

Hen. Townsend. the Seventh of the Sixth Month, 1658. And *Tobias Feak*, and 7th day, 6th *Edward Hart* (English-men and Officers in the Town of *Wlissing* Month, 1658. (or *Flushing*) in *New-Netherlands*, on *Long Island*) were cast into Prison, because they could not prosecute the Dutch Governors Orders against these People in that Town. And the

Tobias Feak.
Edward Hart.

Hen. Townsend said *Henry Townsend* being called before the Governor & Court, and demanded to pay the Fine, and he answering, — That his Person and Estate was under *their* hands, and *they* might take it if *they* would, but he could not pay the Fine. They suffered him not to speak any more, but forthwith cast him into Prison, even into a *miry Dungeon* in the Winter season, about the middle of the Eleventh Month, 1657. Nine days after which he wrote to the Governor and Fiscal, — That he could not pay the Money upon that Account, although he lay in an *Irkesom* Prison, and was of a weak Constitution, and *sickly*; and prohibited his Wife and Friends from giving *them* any thing, Notwithstanding the Cry of *her* and her *small Children*, who could not bear his *sore Sufferings*. But the Season being so cold, and his Wife and Friends in such fear that he would by reason thereof there perish, and *they* apprehending such a Necessity of his Presence at home, *they* came under, and gave his Persecutors Two young Oxen and a Horse, (which was all he had) for his Liberty, who had it thereupon. And *Mary Weatherhead*, and *Dorothy Waugh* (Two Maidens) who came out of England) for speaking in the Streets of *New-Amsterdam*, were cast into a *Miry Dungeon*, and there kept for the space of Eight dayes; In which it was supposed they could not have lived; And then were had through the Street to a Boat with Rods tyed at their Backs, and sent for *Rhoad Island*.

Mary Weatherhead.
Dorothy Waugh

And this is the Entertainment which the Servants of the Lord met with in the Dutch Plantation, the *New-Netherlands* (as it is called) near *New-England*, when they went to Visit the Seed of God there, and which their Brethren, the Eng-
lish

lish that resided there, who endure much servitude for *their* Conscience sake under *them* to enjoy it, and went thither formerly (as I have said) out of the New *English* to Enjoy it, who watch *all* Occasions against *them*, and took this for *One*, and so dealt with *them* through the Example of *you*, and the Instigation (in particular) of *Captain Willet* aforesaid, who were not content to bring *them* under Sufferings, in *New-England*, so as to force *them* to quit the Land to Enjoy their Conscience and Live with Strangers who came out of *England* with *you* to enjoy *their* Conscience, but followed *them* there, and incensed the Strangers against *them*, who before let *them* (and they might have so done to this day) live in peace, which hath produced the Effects aforesaid, for which *you* must Answer to the Lord in the Day which is near, wherein *he* will Judge every man according to *his* Works.

Yet a little more, and then I have done with *You* ; for I am now coming back again, to *your* own doors, and there sealing up *your* summe in relation to the Sufferings of *your* own Jurisdiction, whom *ye* have caused to suffer since the time of *your* putting those to death, and to the Sufferings in the Colony of *Caneiticote*, of which I have spoken.

Several of *Salem* Friends *ye* Committed and have continued them long Prisoners at *Boston*, as *M. Trask, John Smith, Margaret Smith, Edward Wharton* and others ; *Robert Harper* also of *Sandwich*, and *Deborah*, *ye* Committed likewise ; And these were in *your* Prison the *Thirtieth* of the *Tenth* Moneth 1660. Several *ye* Banished upon pain of Death, as *VVinlock Christison*, and *VWill. King* of *Salem*, and *Martha Standly*, a Maid belonging to *England*, and *Mary VWrite* of *Oyster Bay* in *Long Island* ; who gave her Testimony against *You* for *your* Cruelty in putting *Mary Dier* to Death, whose Blood *ye* also thirsted after because of it : Amongst which *VWilliam Ledra* is one (upon whom *your* Cruelty hath often Exceeded) *he* was then in *your* hands, as having returned into *your* Jurisdiction after Banishment ; yet to try *your* Bloody Law as to Death, whom by a *Chain* *ye* have fastened to a *Logg*.

Edw. Warton,
Mary Trask,
John Smith,
Marg. Smith
of *Salem.*
Robert and
Deborah,
Harper.
of *Sandwich.*
W. Christison,
W. King,
Marth. Standly,
Mary Write,
W. Ledra,
Banished.

Joseph Nicholson and *his* Wife came in the *Movings* of the Lord to Sojourn with *you* ; and of *you* to Sojourn amongst *ye* they demanded it, as *they* in right might on as good terms as *you* came

Joseph Nicholson
and *his*
Wife.

came thither first to Inhabit, but it *they* could not have, but instead thereof were committed to Prison, and Banish't upon Pain of Death; (whose business from *England* was to Sojourn among *you*, and against whom *you* had nothing; yet so *ye* did unto *them* though *she* was great with Child, and her Condition such therewith, that *she* could not go forth of Prison, till the last day limited by *you*, nor *he* from *her*, *she* being in that Condition) after which day if found in *your* Jurisdiction, *they* were to die by *your* Law; after whom *ye* sent, and apprehended *he* was at *Salem*, whither *he* went that day with *his* Wife, who there fell in Travel, and suffered *he* was not to stay to see how it might be ordered as to *his* Wife, but had to *Boston* *he* was, in the way whereunto *he* was met with an Order sent on horseback, by *your* Deputy Governor, *Richard Bellingham*, to have *him* thither, and thither *he* was had, and there Committed, and *his* Wife with *him* after *she* was Delivered, and was come thither, and both of *them* *ye* had before *you* after *ye* had Condemned *Mary Dier*, the second time to Death, even that very Day, and in the time that *ye* had *Mary Dier* to the Execution, and in which *she* was Executed; *ye* had *them* both before *ye* again, to see if the terror that might have been in such a thing could have frightened *them*. But the Power of the Lord in *them* was above *you* all, and they feared not *your* Fears nor were afraid of *your* Threats, but boldly stood it out with *you*, in *his* Eternal Power (as did also *Mary Dier* first and last, as I have Declared) and bad *you* do it when *ye* told them of the thing, that is to say, of putting of *them* to Death, thinking to fear *them*; but yet *ye* could not do it, though fain *ye* would, and *your* Desire was so to do, and *your* Wills, (for which *yo*. shall Answer as if *ye* had shed *their* Blood, for it was in *your* heart so to do, and there *ye* Murdred *them*) but *you* feared the Consequence, *they* coming to Sojourn among *you* as Free-born English, and *you* denying of *them* *their* birth-right, and instead of admitting *them* to live amongst *ye* (which *you* could not deny, *they* having not done any thing whereby to cut *them* off from such *their* Priviledge) having Imprisoned *them*, and Banish'd *them* upon Pain of Death as aforesaid, and in that Barbarous manner, & with the greatest hard-heartedness, halled *him* from *his* Wife, when *she* was in Travel, in Order to put *him* to Death, and which might have cost *her* (in that condition)

dition) according to men) *her* Life also, and of the *Little One* with which *she* was in Travel to bring it into the World. (Such Inhumanities as these, and *Cruel Workings, England* hath not heard of, to have been before done in *any of her Jurisdictions*, for to have destroyed them *all ye thought, Father, Mother, and Infant*, at once, but could not by *this way*, nor dared by the *other* because of *your Own Necks*, should *ye* have done it) So ye set *them* at Liberty, who over *all your heads* Departed *your Jurisdiction* in the Will of God, having tried *you*, to trie the rest, and to *Plimmouth Patent* they went (where *Winlock Christison* ^{Winlock Christison} had been Imprisoned, and Suffered *twenty seven* cruel Stripes on *his naked body* at *one time*, laid on with *Deliberation* (so was the word of the Magistrates, who stood to see it) in the *Cold Winter* season, who bad the Jaylor so to do, and to lay it on *hard*, who laid it on as *hard* as he could) and then Rob'd *him* of *his Wastcoat* (though in that *Cold* time of the year *he* was to pass through hardship in going through a Wilderness) and of *his Bible*, which the *Jaylor* took for *Fees* ; Who came about Midnight, much in Drink, the night before, and had *them* away though *his Demand* was but *five Shillings* ; (So Depriving him of the *Scriptures*, as *your Jaylor* did some of those that came to *you*, of which I have spoken) and then turned *him* out in the Morning in the *Cold*, having not Cloathes sufficient left *him* by *you* to keep *him* from it, after *ye* had kept *him* without food from the time of *his said Cruel Whipping* to *his said turning out*, (as *he* was *five Days* upon *his first Commitment* not suffering *him* to have any for *his Money*) nor letting others to supply *him*, but stopping up the *very holes* to *hinder* any supply, the Jaylor saying when *he* stopt them up, that at *such places* *he* might be supplied with *Provisions* ; and keeping it so until he asked *them*, *Whether they meant to Starve him* ? And the Power of the Lord was in it, and constrained *them* to allow *him* Provisions of *three Pence* a day, for *five weeks*, such as the *Jaylor* would give *him*, who took away *his Waste-coat* and Bible as aforesaid, as *Blood-thirsty Barloe* rob'd *him* of *his two other Coats*, and Hat, and bag of Linen, worth upwards of *four pounds*, when he Apprehend-
en *him* at *Sandwich*, a little after *he* came thither from *your Prison* in *Boston*, after *ye* had Banish'd *him* upon Pain of Death, and kept *him* *fourteen Weeks* and *two Days* there, in the cold-
est .

est time of the *Winter* season, and committed his two Friends of *Salem* that came with him to *Boston*. And thus was he Whipt, and thus was he Rob'd, and thus was he turned out after that *The Prince* the Governor and Magistrates, had caused him to be tied Neck and Heels for speaking for himself in the Court, (*most Cruel Tyranny*) who denied him Satisfaction for his Goods Robb'd by *Barloe* as aforesaid, when he was had to the Whipping Post, and with much adoe, had obtained so much Moderation of the *Governour*, as to hear him thereabouts (such was their Rage in Whipping of him) who said in Answer, — *That he must first pay for his Preaching*, (this is the Justice of the men of *Plimmouth Patent*, in place to do Justice, *Theeves* and *Robbers*, and *Abettors* of such; In stead of causing Satisfaction to be made, and causing the *Innocent* cruelly to suffer who demand Satisfaction, even by the hand of them who Committed it on them, which God will Reward who is near to render unto them according to their Deeds; and all this matter was but for coming into their Jurisdiction, when he was banished out of yours. Was ever the like hardheartedness heard of, or *Barbarous Cruelty*?) I say, *Joseph Nicholson* and his Wife being thus turned out of your Jurisdiction, and denied to Sojourn there, and dealt with as aforesaid, were to demand it of *Plimmouth Patent*; (This another Habitation of Cruelty, and Persecuting the Just) and thither they came, and Demanded to Sojourn in that Jurisdiction, but neither there could they be admitted, (the same Spirit ruling in *Plimmouth Patent* as in *Boston*) and so the Magistrates caused them to understand, when they told them, — *That if they had turned them away at Boston, they would have nothing to do with them*, — (how exactly do they Write after your Copy?) And his Wife had much to do with them, and they threatened to Whip her, (if they had ever a Cage) and send her away; and One of them said, — *That if she had not been a Witch, she could not have known that he that was with his son was a Priest*, — whom by the Spirit of the Lord she knew to be such, and so spake to him, (thus doth the blind World judge of the Revelation of the Spirit, by which the Prophet *Ahijah* knew when the Wife of *Feroboam* came in disguise to him, and he said, *Come in thou Wife of Feroboam, why seigest thou thy self to be another?* And by which the Prophets knew and foretold

things

things to come; and *Jeroboam* might have said, had not he been a Witch, he could not have told that it was *his* Wife when she came to him so disguised, on the very same ground as did this Magistrate; but these things I spare, being so plain and manifest) So they passed away in the Moving of the Lord to *Rhod Island*, after they had been twenty four Weeks Prisoners in your Slaughter-House at *Boston*, that is to say, *Joseph Nicholson*, twenty four Weeks, and *his* Wife eighteen; And after they had received your Cruelty as to her Life, who might have perished in her Travail (as aforesaid) but this was the thing ye desired as to her and the rest, as your Words and Deeds have made manifest, so that it might be with safety to your selves, which was your wariness indeed, not that it was your Love to those People, whom ye sought to Destroy, but therein had not your Wills, though ye have been suffered to put some of them to Death, that what ye would do, and what was in your hearts might be made manifest. And eight more when *Joseph* and *his* Wife passed from *Boston*, were in Prison, who by Your bloody Law were in condition of Banishment upon Pain of Death, so to root them out; This being the often Expression of some of * you, — That they or you must give way, (and why can't ye Live together, seeing ye were made of One Blood, and to breath in one Ayre, and the Bishops might with as much Justice have used the same Argument as you.) And your M. General *Denison* often said in Court (as I have alledged) That they and you could not well live together, (Your minds are very great, that would swell bigger than the Ordinance of the God of Heaven, who hath made mankind to dwell on all the face of the Earth) and that at Present the Power was in your hands, (but Know ye how long it will be? Wisdom would have taught ye, had ye kearkened unto it, to have done by Men whilst ye are in Power, as ye would have done to your selves when ye are Out, and as it was not done unto you when ye were under, who even now are under another Jurisdiction.) and the rest must fend off (as I have said) said he. So mind your State, and how ye have given Law against your selves; You should have been absolute first, had ye been wise Men, and made your selves so, viz. Independant from England, as your Action bespoke your Mind in making it Death Directly or Indirectly to seek the Alteration of Your Government, which was

* *Den-Denison*
aforesaid in
Particular.

A Law making
it death directly
or indirectly,
to seek the Al-
teration of the
Government.

upon the endeavouring of *some* by *Petition* to *England*, to have their Grievances redrest, before any of the People called *Quakers* came into *Your* Jurisdiction, whom *You* used at *Your* pleasure, and to prevent *them*, formed *this* Law, that all things might be secure in *your* hands ; and so far *ye* proceeded further, That neither *Oliver*, nor his Son *Richard* were Proclaimed *Protectors*, not that *Ye* liked them not, but that *ye* thought *them* so much *your* Friends, as that by the *Indulgence* of *them* *ye* might get clear of *England*, though *ye* pretended something else, viz. the Danger of *some* Body, who which that *some* Body was, it may be judged ; And * *One* of *your* Priests said, by such an Endeavour-
 ed by *Petition* to *England* to have Redrests, — *That if they had their due they should be led up* Windmil-Hill, that is, to the Gallows, in plain *English* to be Hanged ; For on Windmil-Hill stood the Gallows at *Boston* : And some of the said *Petitioners* were taken and Imprisoned, and Fined, in great summes of *Money* for so doing. As Doctor Child, Samuel Maverick, David Teal, and others that were Merchants, whom *ye* Sought to find out (viz. the *Petitioners*) by putting some to an Oath (in the Nature of that *Ex Officio*) to accuse any but *themselves*, which one of *them* resolving not to take, and yet afterwards doing, was so tormented in his Spirit, that he died miserable. And this is something of the Provision *ye* have made against *your* Dependency on *England* ; and upon which none durst from that time upon their Lives *Petition* to *England* for Redrest of any Grievance whatsoever ; And this is the Tyranny under which doth lie the People of *New-England*, and upon Account of *this*, Appeals to *England* have been denied, of which I have spoken. Now this was upon a *Petition* wherein *they* desired to be ruled according to the *Laws* of *England*, and that *they* might have the Liberty of *English* men, or else *they* intended to *Petition* to *England*, which was put into the Court at *Boston*, where it kindled a great fire against the *Petitioners*, and most of the *Pulpits* rang of it (see how the Priests are in all Places the Trumpeters of Rebellion, whose Interest (as it appears) is to be severed from *England*) and to make *some* of *them* Examples (that is to hang them) the Magistrates were set on by the Priests, and the said Priest for *One*. So *they* made their Law as aforesaid ; And *Richard Bellingham*, *your* Deputy Governor (who deserves not to be
 named

* One Rogers
 Priest of
 Rowley.

Doctor Child.
 Sam. Maverick
 David Teal,
 &c.
 Imprisoned for
 endeavouring
 to *Petition* to
England, for
 redrest of
 their grievan-
 ces. This was
 before friends
 came to *New-
 England*, and
 those this Priest
 for so doing
 would have
 had hanged.

named amongst men ; Who when in England, in that day of the Bishops, hid himself under a Bed for fear of an Apparition, but is now thus Cruel to the Innocent) said to the said Joseph and his Wife ; after that ye had pronounced on them, the Sentence of Banishment upon Pain of Death. — That their Law was too strong for them, and that they should be Hanged assuredly, (if they should be taken again after Banishment (in which he lied, for they were before you several times after their said Banishment, and the time Limited was expired, and yet they were not Hanged) as they were whom ye had already put to Death, (but the Lord delivered them out of your hands) and that they would take a Course with his wife hereafter, (which was after she should be delivered, for she was great with Child when she was Banisht, and this was said when ye Banisht her) And Your Goaler Rejoyced when he met Joseph, as he was in the Way to the Prison after his Banishment. Telling him, — That he (viz. the said Joseph) was come again to see whether the Gallows would hold him ; (as he rejoyced at the sight of some other Friends, who were sent to Prison for that purpose, of which I have spoken.) And it was boasted in Court, — That ye had men in Armes to maintain your Law, and to defend your selves, (And what Laws are they ? Against Conscience, or for Religion ? and what Religion is it which Men in Armes must maintain ? and against whom are your Armes ? Those who do not resist you, and who are few in Number, a few Men and Women : What Defence is this ? If Men in Armes should come to try you, Would you thus maintain it ? I could never find that cruel men dare much to fight.) — Such a Generation of Blood-thirsty men, Ravening after the Prey, after Blood, the Blood of the Innocent, who have been Ancient in your Cruelty, and have long been filling up your measure, who as soon as you had escaped the hands of those you feared in England, & gotten large Farmes about you, you sat down at Rest, and then soon began to exercise Dominion, & became Lords over the Faith of others, as your Cruel Dealings with Anne Hutchinson and that Company, stands as a perpetual Record before the Lord against you ; Who, because they differed something from you, nothing would serve your turn, but presently to Devour them ; Who after you had long Imprisoned her many Months, and set men to keep her : Did you not take away very much

R. Billingshams
wicked speech.

The Jay'or
rejoyced that
Joseph was
come again to
be put to death
The Beast of
the Court.

from *her* Husband, to pay the men wages, and then Banished several of them in the fore Cold Winter season, into the Wilderness, where was no Habitation, who some of them were forced to dig a Cave in the Ground on *Rhod* Island, to preserve their Lives, the place then being not Inhabited; and did *you* not cruelly deal with *J. Collens*, who because he differed from *you* in Principle, took him up as he passed through *your* Colony not meddling with any, and Imprisoned him, and fined him 100. l. And when he went but to make his Defence in *your* Meeting, saying, *Men, Brethren and Fathers, hear ye my Defence, &c. ye* would not suffer him to speak further for himself, but had him to Prison; And after that some of *your* Patents endeavoured to get in that place (to wit, *Rhod* Island) under some of *your* Governments, which occasioned some of their farther remove under the *Dutch* Government, where they (to wit) *Anne Hutcheson* and her Son *Francis*, and this *Collens* abovesaid, her Son in Law, with others, were Murdered by the *Indians*; The guilt and weight of whose Blood lies upon *you*, as done by *you* who were People of an honest Life and good behaviour, onely differing from *you*; And it's like Governor *John Wintrop*, *Senior* (who was an honest man, and had some hand in this being drawn to it by *your* Priests) was made sensible of it on his Death-bed, when old *Dudly*, a man of Blood, and the rest of *you*, sent to the said *John Wintrop* to set his hand to a Paper for the Banishment of one *Matthews* a *Welch* Man, a Priest; which he refused, telling *them* he had had his hand too much in such things already; but nothing of all this will work on *you*, who have more and more gone on in that Spirit, to the molesting, Whipping, Fining and Imprisoning many honest People, upon the account of Baptism, and the like: Whose dealings are and have been so Inhumane, so Barbarous, so Cruel, so Unmerciful, as the like hath not been heard of, nor can be Parallel'd by the Records of former Ages in *this* Nation; Whose Judgement shall be as are *your* Presidents. The Lord hath spoken it, who will fulfil it.

Anne Hutcheson and others Murdered.

Sufferings in
Canest. Colony.
J. Copeland.
John Rous.
Will. Leddra.
W. Brend.
Sara Gibbens.

Now as to *Canellicote*, I have little to say, (as before I have intimated) onely *John Copeland*, *John Rous* were put under restraint, and not suffered to pass the Colony, *W. Brend* and *Will. Leddra* were also there but not suffered to abide; *Sarah Gibbens* and

and Dorothy Waugb, at Hartford in that Colony (whither they were moved of the Lord) were imprisoned several dayes; and some of their Clothes sold to pay their Fees; and denied to sojourn there the said Joseph Nicholson and his Wife were; (who went thither from Rhaud Island, being moved of the Lord to place their Sojourning upon all the Colonies) and the Commissioners of the Four united Colonies were there, and D. Denison in particular, who denied them; (though the Governor was Moderate) as did those of New-haven; any being amongst them.

Doro Waugb
Joseph and
Jane Nicholson
New-haven
Colony.

And so I have done with you, and the other Colonies and rolled ye up and down in the Blood of the Innocent, as ye have rolled your selves up and down in Innocent Blood; and cloathed you with their Sufferings I have, as ye have had to do in their Sufferings. And the Cup I have filled to you, which ye have filled unto them, and have doubled it upon you, in the Word of the Lord, who will fulfill it upon you, and you shall not go haughtily for this time is Evil. For the Lord my God shall come and all his Saints with Him. A devouring fire shall go before him, and it shall be very Tempestuous round about him; He shall call to the Heavens above, and to the Earth, that he may Judge his People, and the Heavens shall declare his Righteousness; for God is Judge himself; Selah. And he will Reprove you, and set your sins in Order before you, and will tear you in pieces, and there shall be none to Deliver you. So shall ye know that the Lord he is God, and that there is no other, that his Judgements are true and righteous altogether. That these are His People, and His Truth they Witness; That in all their Afflictions He hath been Afflicted with them, and that the Angel of His presence hath gone before them; That He hath seen their Affliction, and heard their Cry, and is come to Deliver them. That you are Recompensed justly according to your Deeds; That the hour of your Visitation is over; That your night is come which shall never have end; That Depart ye Cursed into Everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels, Ye must Receive from the King when he comes in his Glory, and all the holy Angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his Glory, and all Nations shall be gathered before Him; and He shall separate them one from another, as a Shepherd doth his Seep from the Goats, and He shall set the Sheep on his right hand, but the Goats on the left. And the King shall say to them on his right hand, Come ye blessed of my Father, in-

herit the Kingdom prepared for you, from the Foundation of the World. For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat, I was thirsty and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me in, naked, and ye clothed me, I was sick, and ye visited me, I was in Prison, and ye came unto me. Then shall the Righteous Answer him saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungred and fed thee? and thirsty, and gave thee drink? when saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked and clothed thee? Or, when saw we thee sick, or in Prison, and came unto thee? And the King shall Answer and say unto them, Verily, I say unto you, in as much as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my Brethren, ye have done it unto me. Then shall he say unto them on the left hand, Depart from me ye Cursed into everlasting fire prepared for the Devil, and his Angels: For I was an hungred, and ye gave me no meat, I was thirsty and ye gave me no drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not; sick and in prison, and ye visited me not; Then shall they Answer him saying, Lord, When saw we thee an hungred, or a thirsty, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee? Then shall he Answer them, saying, Verily, I say unto you, in as much as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me. And these shall go away into Everlasting Punishment, but the righteous into Life Eternal. And so I have sealed up your Summe.

THE END.

A Few Words to the KING, and both Houses of
 PARLIAMENT, and the *Rulers and People*
 of these Nations, as a *WARNING*
 from the LORD.

AND now, Ye Inhabitants of these Nations, Ye Princes
 and Rulers thereof, and Thou King CHARLES,
 and Thy Two Houses of Parliament; be ye all warned
 in the Word of the Lord, whose Word and Warning
 it is, how ye tread the steps of these, or of the Men that have gone
 before you; Medling with Conscience (the Dominion of God)
 Persecuting Men for their Conscience to God, and causing them
 to suffer for their Consciences, as hath been in these Nations; For
 if you do, and Forget the Lord, and be Unmindful of Him that
 formed you, of the Rock that begat you; who hath done great
 Things for you, and Wonderful Things and Terrible, and
 change your Glory into the Similitude of an Oxe that eateth Grass,
 and persecute His People, who are Innocent as to you, and have
 suffered with you, and Desire your Welfare; Against whom ye
 have no occasion of fault but as to the Law of their God, which
 they may not transgress, lest Evil come upon them from the Lord,
 and his Hand be upon them. Who are Meek and Patient, and Re-
 sist not Evil, because of Him that said it; but bear All things,
 and suffer all things; and you have tried, and found it so, as have
 those that went before you; whom the Lord hath Plucked up much
 because of what was done unto them; of which they were warned
 in the Day of their Deliverance, which was fulfilled upon Them;
 (viz.) That which they were warned of, as of that which should
 come if they took not Warning; And hath made way for you, and
 hath done for you as it is at this Day, beyond what ye could ask or
 think, Without your Sword or Bow, or Spear, or your Habergeon;
 When your Hopes were almost gone, and you were Disappointed in
 your Stratagems, and Overthrown in your Power, and even at a
 stand to Consider, Whether ever a Return of your Captivity should
 be? Which He hath turned again as the Streams in the South;
 and you are as it were in a Dream, now, that the Lord hath turned
 again.

John 4. 23.

again your Captivity, and as those who are so filled with the Apprehension of the thing they have, and which they long desired to enjoy, and were long kept out of, that they are in Doubt whether it be a Dream or the Thing. Thus hath the Lord done for you, and He that hath done it can undo it again, and overturn you, as He hath done them that have gone before you, and that without Sword or Spear, even by the Spirit of the Lord; who hath moved Me to write to You, and to warn you of these things; For if you do (as from the Mouth of the Lord I have said) and meddle with Conscience (the Dominion of God) and impose upon it in Matters of Religion (the Worship of God, who will be worshipped in Spirit and Truth, and the Father seeketh such to worship Him, who is Lord of the Conscience) and so intrench upon his Dominion, which is an Everlasting Dominion, and His Kingdom which shall never have end; His Hand will be against you, and his Fury will come upon you, and He will visit you; and your Day He will turn into Night, and your Joy into Sorrow, and your Rejoycing into Heaviness; and you shall know that the Most High ruleth in the Kingdom of Men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will. So in Bowels of Love, and Tenderness of Heart, as One that desires your Prosperity for ever, and the Wel-being of you, and your Posterity after you, I beseech you take heed of striking against the Rock of Ages, or meddling with His Kingdom, which is an Everlasting Kingdom, or with His Dominion, which is for ever and ever, or persecuting His People; for if ye do, Know assuredly from the Lord, It will dash you to Pieces; and by how much the more his Kindness hath exceeded towards you, will be your Judgment. Therefore, my dear Friends, Take heed what ye do; be Advised and Cool; Refuse not the Counsel of One that is your Friend; On whom the sence of these things lies, Who would not have God your Enemy; Who would have it well with you; For here have splitted All that have gone before you, and here You will be split, the Lord hath spoken it. And so I have Discharged my Conscience of what the Lord hath laid on Me; and manifested my Love and Good-will to You: If ye take it well, it will be the better for you; if otherwise, I am Clear.

Bristol, 11th day,

4th Month, 1661.

GEO. BISHOP.

A N
A P P E N D E X

To the BOOK, Entituled,

New England Judged:

BEING

Certain WRITINGS, (never yet Printed)
of those Persons which were there
EXECUTED.

Together

With a SHORT RELATION, of the TRYAL,
SENTENCE, and EXECUTION,

OF

VVILLIAM LEDDRA.

Written by Them in the time of their *Imprisonment*, in the
Bloody Town of BOSTON.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Robert Wilson*, at the sign of the *Black-spread-
Eagle and Windmil*, in *Martins Le Grand*, 1661.

APPENDIX

New England Judged;

Containing Writings (never before printed)
of those Persons which were
executed.

Together
With a SHORT RELATION of the Trials
and Executions.

OF
WILLIAM LEDGER.

Written by T. in the times of their lives, and
after their Deaths.

LONDON.

Printed for Robert Wain, at the sign of the black-branch,
in Pall-mall, in the year 1681.

An Appendix

To the BOOK, Entitled,

New England Judged.

This concerns all such Rulers, Priests and People in New-England, who have joyned hand in hand to Persecute the Saints, but especially the Rulers and Priests of Massachusetts Bay in New-England; who are become more Bloody and Cruel, Bold and Impudent in their Wickedness, than the rest of their Brethren, who have attempted to make a Bloody Law and unrighteous Decree, to Banish the Children and People of God, upon Death, out of their Jurisdiction; and by an unrighteous Decree, have made a Law to put the Servants of God to Death, if they return again into their Patent: Therefore mark the Cruelty which is the fruits of New-England's Professors, all you that Read this Paper.

Harken and give Ear thou Town of Boston, lend an Ear O ye Rulers, chief Priests, and Inhabitants thereof: Listen all you that dwell therein, Rich and Poor, Small and Great, High and Low, Bond and Free, of what sort so ever, Give Ear: be attentive to the Words of my mouth, which proceed from the Spirit of the Lord, and from the Power of the Almighty within me.

I have often considered your Conditions, and your Actings
 Z z have

have often come into my remembrance, which hath caused me often to Lament, because of the hardness of your hearts, who do thus slight the Almighty, and requite the Most High; Oh foolish and unwise, ye who do not regard the Lord that made you, who hath often sent to you his Servants, to give you warning of the mighty day of the Lord of Hosts, of the terrible day of the Lord God Almighty, which draweth near, it hastens apace; the Lord hath laid it for His Elects sake, and for His own Names sake, will the Lord arise, and plead with all His Enemies, in this the day of His Eternal Power. Oh ye children of Men, who are the Workmanship of His hands, will ye resist the Lord, the Lord God Almighty, the Holy One of Israel, the Strong and Mighty God, who is arising in his Saints, and coming forth in His Strength, to Scatter His Enemies, and to Destroy Pharaoh and all His Hosts and Chariots in the Red Sea, after the Seed is come out of Egypt, and to turn the pride and haughtiness of men backwards, that rises to withstand the Lord? Oh consider ye Potsherds, who are as unstable as the Waves of the Sea, and are as the Wind in His hand, which he turneth and causeth to blow which way it pleaseth Him, who will confound and destroy you in your Imaginations, that you have imagined against Him and His Saints. Oh man! What art thou that standest to resist the Lord, the mighty God of Jacob? Did ever any of your Fathers, the Persecutors of old prosper? Did not the Lord consume them with the breath of His nostrils, and with the Word of His mouth? Who will tear you to pieces, that rise up in Rebellion against Him. Consider, was it in vain that one said in a certain place, That Rebellion is as the sin of Witchcraft? Consider O ye that inhabit the Earth, whose dwelling-place is beneath; Doth not the Lord behold all your Actions, and all your unrighteous Doings? Oh ye Rulers and chief Priests, are ye combining together? are ye joined together? are you in league together, as the Rulers and chief Priests were in former ages? Consider their Ends, and consider what you are doing? Are you so blind that you cannot see you are Persecuting the Saints of the most High? You who are seeking the Life of the Righteous, and that nothing but Blood will satisfy; The Lord will give you blood to drink, you that thirst for it, you shall have enough of it; you who spill and drink

drink the Blood of the Saints and Martyrs of Jesus; Are not your
 Brethren gone before you, in whose steps ye are treading?
 and the fruits of the Devil you are bringing forth, Ye are cir-
 cumcised in heart and ears; Who do thus resist the Lord of Life:
 As your Fathers did, so do ye resist the holy Ghost and the Spi-
 rit of Truth, which is now appeared in the Saints of the most
 High; who are sent into your borders in love to your Souls,
 and in tender mercy and compassion to the Captive that is
 within your gates, and to the Prisoner. Oh why will you
 strive any longer with the Lord that made you? *Who is coming*
in ten thousand of his Saints to render vengeance in flames of fire,
upon all the ungodly: Who hath said, *Vengeance is mine, I will re-*
pay it, saith the Lord God of hosts: Who will recompence into
 your bosoms, the Reward of your doings. Oh People and In-
 habitants hereof, *Why will ye die in your sins?* And *whither*
Christ goeth, whither you cannot come: Oh! *Why will ye put the day*
of the Lord afar off you? who hath waited long to be gracious, and
 hath borne with you, as a man doth with his only Son that serveth
 him: So hath the Lord spared you: And do you thus requite the
 Lord for his loving-kindness, to whip, to imprison, and cut off the
 Ears of his Servants, that are sent unto you? Is this your Preach-
 ing forth of Christ? Are these your good Examples to others?
 Come, let us reason together; Have you not lost natural af-
 fection? have you not lost tenderness and compassion? *What*
is me, for thee, O thou New-England, who hast made such
 a noise among the Nations: Is thy Religion come to no more
 than whipping, imprisoning, burning in the hand, and cutting
 off Ears, and hamstringing upon death? What will be the next Law
 that thou wilt make, O New-England, against those that thou
 scornfully callest *Quakers*? terming them the *Cursed Sect of*
the Quakers. If they were a *Cursed Sect*, as thou hast termed
 them, it seems they should be so for thee, and so die for thee;
 For thou hast made a Law, to put them to Death, if they come
 the second time within thy borders: But I say, the Lord hath
 blessed the People called in scorn *Quakers*, and they are bles-
 sed, and shall be blessed for evermore. Oh ye Rulers and
 chief Priests, will you proceed no further, than putting to
 Death the Innocent? Is thy Praying, thy Preaching, thy ma-
 ny Sacrifices, and vain Oblations, come to this? and wilt not
 thy

thy Sacrifices, and Prayers, and solemn Meetings, become Abomination? is it not the greatest Abomination that thou comittest? Dost thou think that this will pacifie the wrath of the Almighty God? who is coming forth against thee, and will ~~o-~~vertake thee, and strip thee naked, and uncover thee in that day, and rake all thy Ornaments from thee. Oh consider! Hast thou forgot? although thou wouldest cover the Altar with tears, and come before Him with ten thousand of Rams, and with a thousand Rivers of Oyl, and offer the Fruit of thy Body, for the sin of thy Soul; Would it be accepted, being offered in that nature wherein thou livest? Much more when thou art become so Bloody, and so hard-hearted, that in stead of covering the Altar with tears, dost thou intend to cover it with blood if thou canst? Blush and be ashamed; hide thy self in the dust for ever, because of the presence of the Almighty, who is now appeared and is coming to set thy sins in order before thee; who will not blot out thy sins, nor cover thy Iniquities which are many, unless thou speedily repent, and forsake thy unrighteousness; for thy Destruction hastens apace, thou art running headlong to Destruction; as the horse rusheth into the Barrel; so dost thou into Blood. How dost thou think to expect any thing from the Lord, but a Sore Destruction, a Famine, and a Plague, which is hastening upon thee, if thou continue still in Rebellion; in Persecuting his Servants. This hath the Lord said; and this will the Almighty perform upon thee in the day of his righteous Judgements, which will overtake all bloody-minded men; and blind Persecutors.

Oh I am full of the Spirit of the Lord, and of the Power of him that made me, who hath said unto me, Fear not man whose breath is in his Nostrils, nor the Son of man that must die; For the Lord hath said unto me, For this end have I called thee, and for this cause I have ordained thee; Fear them not, neither be dismayed at their looks, nor be afraid of their threatening words; I the Lord that created thee am with thee; Therefore fear not what man shall do unto thee, for I have made thee as a Wall of Brass; whereat the bloody-minded men shall shoot their Arrows; but shall not touch thee as to offend thee; Therefore the Lord hath said unto me, Let not thy heart faint because of what I shall suffer thine to do unto thee; but let thy hands be strong in the Lord thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel; for thy adversaries shall be confounded;

and the Enemies of the Lord shall be destroyed in that day.

Ohye Hypocrits! how can you sing and keep such a noise concerning Religion, when your hands are full of blood and your hearts full of Iniquity? Wash you, make you clean, put away the Evil of your doings, cease to do Evil, learn to do good, cleanse your hands you sinners, and your hearts you Hypocrites, for your Prayers are abomination to me, saith the Lord of Hosts; your singing is as the howling of a Dog in the Streets, such are the Songs you sing in your Temple unto me saith the Lord; my Spirit is weary with bearing, and my Soul is vexed day after day with your abominations. **Thou**, wo to thee thou **Bloody Town of Boston**, and the Rest that are Confederate with Thee, and it thou canst not escape; Thou who hast shed the blood of the Innocent People called **Quakers**, and Imprisoned and Fined them, and taken away their Goods, and they have become a Prey unto thee, for thee to exercise thy Cruelty upon them, and thou boasts in thy wickedness; and thinks thou dost God good Service to hang and put to Death the People called **Quakers**; Verily this is the Thoughts and Intents of the hearts of many of you in this **New England**; but especially within thee, and within thy Jurisdiction that belongs unto thee, O thou **Town of Boston**: for these words following did one say (in the Governours House) whose name is **Edward Rawson**, called Secretary, who did Threaten me with these words following (on the 18th of the 4. Month 1659) That if I came again after I was sent away, or banished, he said, he would write a Warrant with his own hand to send me to the Gallows to be hanged. Are these your Fruits, your corrupt speeches, to Threaten the Innocent with your Gallows, to hang them thereon? Oh that ever such words should proceed out of a mans mouth! to say that he would write a Warrant with his own hand, to send an Innocent Person to the Gallows to be hanged. Well, all this we can bear, the Lord hath brought forth his Suffering Seed, and through Suffering must the Lamb and his Saints overcome and get the Victory, and the wicked must be destroyed, and such who have been guilty of Blood. Was ever the like heard before, That men Professing to have so much of the Knowledge of God, and Professing to Fear God, that such should become so **Bloody**! and become so great Persecutors of a People who are despised of the World,

but

but loved of God, and the Presence of the Lord is with them, whom you *Persecute*, and you must fall before them; for the Lord God is with them and among them that are the Sufferers under you. The Lord God of Heaven and Earth is now among such, which causeth the *Heavens to Rage*, and the People of the Earth to *Imagine a Vain Thing*. For the Lord's Presence and Power, in some measure, was ever among such as Suffered and were *Persecuted for Conscience sake*, and Suffered with them, and in them by the *Persecutors of Old*, in former Ages and Generations; as he doth at this day in his Saints and Children, for the overthrow of the Powers of Darknesse, and Kingdoms of the Devil, who hath had his Seat in the sons of men for these many Ages and Generations; Wherein, and whereby the *Beast* hath made *War* against the *Lamb* and His Saints; for many Generations. But the day doth draw near, and hastens apace, that the *Lamb* and the Saints must get the *Victory*. And the *Beast* and his Followers, at that day, must be Consumed, and Destroyed, because of the Presence of the Lord God in his Saints, *am I to amend you to amend you*.

Oh what cruelty is acted now in these dayes! That men who *Professe God* and make such a noise concerning Religion, that such should become so hard-hearted, to imprison a Child of Election of Twelve Years of Age! Was ever the like done among the greatest Tyrants, or Bloody-minded men, that are mentioned in the Scriptures? Did they ever imprison a Child that was sent unto them, to Warn them of their unrighteousness? Oh what will become of you! Do you think, Oh you *Stands and Rulers of this Town of Boston*, who are become so Brutish, and so Dark in your Understandings, and so unlike Men in your Actions? You that cast the Innocent into your Dens, Holes, Prisons, and will not suffer their Friends and Acquaintance to come to visit them, not to minister unto them. Surely God will your *Cap-bay* and your *Portion* will be *fall to Safety* the sober and tender-hearted cannot but grieve and lament, to hear of the Cruelty that is acted by you. Oh ye Rulers and chief Priests, who are the *Beginners of Mischief*, and the *Leaders of them* who are the *chief Actors of all this Cruelty*. For so it was spoken by the Prophet, The Leaders of this People shall lead them to Error, and they that are led by them, are destroyed for lack

of true knowledge. Well, a little further you shall proceed, to fill up the measure of your Iniquities; and then shall you have your Reward with the rest of the Uncircumcised: For, I know it is *Blood* you thirst after, O ye Rulers and chief Priests, is it not our Lives ye thirst for, come, tell us plainly? Or, have you made this Law of yours, only to see if you can make the People, called *Quakers*, afraid of you? Well, however, being I am allowed of God, I shall tell you plainly, that the Lord God of Heaven and Earth is now drawing near and coming upon you speedily to try you, whether you will exercise your *inhuman Law* upon us, who are now sent among you from the Lord for this very end and purpose; I say, will you put us to death for only coming into your Jurisdiction, or Patent (as you call it) after we have been once sent away, or commanded by you to go out of it? Now, we say, being the Lord God hath commanded us to the contrary, Is it meet and just to obey God, or man, judge ye? to obey your bloody Law, or to obey God's Righteous Law, which He hath writ in our hearts, and placed within us, which judges and condemns your unrighteous Law, that you have made to banish the *Righteous*? Well, you that call your selves *Christians*, if you do this *bloody Act*, to shew your selves so unlike men, I must tell you plainly, for constrained by the Lord God I am to tell you, O ye bloody-minded men, *That if you do put us to death, this Action of yours will proceed from the Devil, who was a Murderer from the beginning*, who seeks to destroy mens lives, as you do at this day; For as it was then, so it is now, *he that is born after the flesh, persecuteth him that is born after the Spirit.*

Now you that say you are *Christians*, Come, let us reason together concerning this inhuman Law that you have made, to put the People, called *Quakers*, to death: Did ever any true *Christians* make such Laws, as you have made against a People, whom you in scorn and derision call *Quakers*, since they came among you? Are you not ashamed that the Nations about you should hear of your Actions? to hear of the cruel Laws that you have made against an innocent and harmless People; What, was not the Law that you made at first strong enough, but you must disanul it, and proceed to a more bloodier? Come, tell us plainly (if you be not ashamed to speak)

of whom did you ask Counsel ? or, to whom did you seek for Instruction ? I am sure the Lord (in whose hand your breath is) did never give you Counsel to make these *bloody Lanes*, that you have made against the People who are scornfully called *Quakers*.. Come let us further reason together, that you may appear unto all, that have any Moderation in them left, as men ; that surely you are not the true Christians, nor Disciples of Christ, for they used no such weapons to War withall as you do : So that a great deal of difference there is betwixt your Practises and theirs, your Weapons and theirs ; For their Weapons were and are Spiritual, and yours are Carnal. The difference is great every way, as great as there is betwixt Light and Darknesse. Again, that you may see that in every thing you are altogether unlike them ; their War was against *Spiritual wickedness in high places*. The Apostles *wrestled not with flesh and blood* ; mark, not with the *Creatures*, not to destroy mens Lives, but made War in Righteousness, with the spiritual Weapons, *having on for an helmet, the breast-plate of Righteousness, whereby they subdued the Powers of darkness, and spiritual wickedness that ruled in high places*. Now you that call your selves Christians, you *war against flesh and blood*, your war is against the *Creatures*, and not against *spiritual wickedness* ; you seek to destroy that which Christ came to save, and seek not to destroy that which Christ came to destroy : He was made manifest to destroy the works of the Devil, but you make your selves manifest (you intend) to destroy the work of God. Mark and take notice, you *unbelievers* ; The *Creature* is the *workmanship of God* ; the *spiritual wickedness* is the fruit and work of the Devil, which Christ came to destroy, and was made manifest for that end, to destroy the sin which is the fruit of the Devil. Take notice, ye, *unlike Christians*, the fruits, and works of the Devil, live and remain still among you *undestroyed* ; who seek to destroy the *workmanship of God*, when Christ came to save mens lives, and not to destroy them, but to destroy the works of the Devil ; but you seek to destroy, that which Christ came to save, and to save alive that which Christ came to destroy. So see if it doth not appear plainly by your Actions, and by your corrupt fruits, that you are making war against Christ, and his Saints ; whom you seek to destroy from off the face of the Earth ; As let your actions that

that you have *sted* already against God and his Servants, bear witness against you, that you are become more *Bloody*, and more *hard-hearted* than *Pharaoh* of old. See, and search the Scriptures of Truth, and consider whose children you are, and whose works you are a doing, and whom it is you are serving. For, *his servants you are to whom ye obey*. Did ever God send any of his Servants into a Country or Nation, to *destroy* his workmanship, the Creature? Is this your *gaining* many People into your Church? Is this your *Converting* of others? Is this your way of adding many to your Church? What, by *compelling* of people to come to your Meetings? What, by *Fining* People, and *taking away* their Goods? What, by *Imprisoning*, *Whipping*, and *Stocking* and *burning in the hand*, and *cutting off* the *Ears* of those that come to bear witness against your *Cruelty* and *Idolatry*? Is this your way of *convincing* *gain-sayers*? What, by making of a Law to *banish* such upon *pain of Death*? have you no other weapons to fight withall against the Truth? Have you no other means nor way, ye *Idol-shepherds*, to stop the mouthes of them ye call *gain-sayers*, than *Imprisoning*, *Whipping*, *Burning in the Hand*, *Fining* and *taking away* their Goods, and *Banishment upon pain of Death*? Have you no other way, nor word to convince those you call *Hereticks*, and *Deceivers*, but to *take away* their lives? Surely this was not the way, nor means, nor power, which the Apostles used to convince the *Gentiles* and *Jews*, unto whom they were sent. This power which you make use of, is not the power, neither doth it proceed from the power which ruled in the *Saints*, *Prophets*, *Apostles*, and *People of God*, whereby their Souls were *converted* to God, which *turned them from Darkness to Light*; But the power that rules you, and that you act by, is of another nature, than the power the Apostles were in; for their power was, and is given to *save*, but yours is to *destroy mens lives*, which the power of God was given for to *save*; which must be set a top of all unrighteous Powers, from whom all *bloody* and *unrighteous Laws* do proceed. So, behold what power it is that leads you, and what power ye are under, ye *merciless* men; that many of you are become past feeling, whose *Consciences are seared as with a hot Iron*; who have given your selves over to *work wickedness*, and are become as great

*Persecutors, as any that worship the Beast, who have given their power unto the Dragon, who thirsts after the blood of the Innocent, as the Lion doth after his prey; so greedy, and hasty are you to spill the blood of the Saints, and to take away the Life of the Upright from the face of the Earth. Well, ye Rulers and Magistrates (so called) take heed, and take warning, I lay it upon you, while you have time, and a day given unto you to consider these things; So before the thing come to passe, and before you do it, weigh the matter. Come, let us farther reason together; Can you convince us of the transgression of any Law of God? and if you cannot, (which we know you cannot) nor have the least transgression of the Righteous Law of God to lay to our charge, who are now coming among you in obedience to the Lord God of Heaven and Earth, for this very end, to try you, O ye children of men: And if you put us to Death, because we cannot obey your Commandment, but choose rather to obey the Commandment of the Lord; and for so doing will you put us to Death? Well, this know, and be it known unto the Sons of Men, and Inhabitants within this Town of Boston, and elsewhere within your Jurisdiction; That the Commandments of the most High must we obey, and your Commandment we must disobey, and disanul it, and make it of no effect, because it is against, and contrary to that of God in all mens Consciences; which is of the nature, and according to the Righteous and Royal Law of God; therefore we must obey the Command of the Lord, because it is according to the Righteous and Royal Law of God, which is according to that of God in every man's Conscience; which saith, *It is more just and meet, to obey God than man.* So being that your Law that you have made, is unequal, and contrary to the Law of God, which he hath writ in our hearts, which is equal, just and righteous; for your Law, that you have made, against the Innocent People called *Quakers*, is unjust, and unrighteous, and contrary to that of God in all mens Consciences, and contrary to the righteous and Royal Law of God: Therefore we say, we cannot obey such a Law, that doth not agree with the Royal Law of God; but herein shall we obey the Lord, choosing rather to suffer, what you shall be suffered to do unto us, than to fulfil the Commandment and unrighteous Law of unrighteous men,*

in flying at your Command, when the Lord hath Commanded us to stay; Whereby that he may shew his Power in us, that his Command, and his Righteous & Royal Law is of more power, virtue and force in us, and with us, than your unrighteous Laws and Commands can be against us. So this know, if you put us to death, when we return, that you will bring innocent blood upon you, by so doing, which shall not depart from your houses, nor from that seed that is guilty thereof. So these things we speak, that you may no more be guilty of Innocent blood, for assuredly know, that nothing shall fail of what the Lord hath spoken by us, and through us concerning you, if you go on still in Rebellion and stiff-neckedness, and refuse to hearken to the Voice and Counsel of the Lord God: And this know, that you have been warned from the Lord of these things before they came to passe; For this we know, if we disobey the Command of the Lord, to fly from you, because you have made a Law to put us to Death, if we disobey the Lord in this thing, he can cut us off, and take our Lives from us in his anger and fury; Therefore be it known unto you, that the Lord hath made us willing to lay down our Lives among you, if you be suffered to take them from us; and in this thing we know we shall have *peace*, when you shall have *sorrow* and *torment* night and day: And this shall you certainly know one day, that the Lord God of Heaven and Earth, whom we serve, sent us among you, if you see our faces again, after we have been *Banished* from you; and that which we have spoken, you shall know to be truth, whether you will *hear* or *forbear*. Well, if you say, we are transgressors of a Law, in not obeying your unrighteous Law: It is your own, and not God's Law; For his Law is *holy, just, and good*; but yours is altogether *unholy, unrighteous, unjust, and wicked*; and is to be set at nought, and condemned by the servants of the Lord: For this Law of yours, which you have made, to put the Righteous to death, hath not proceeded from the Spirit of the Lord, which is *meek, and lowly, and easie to be entreated*; which doth judge and condemn you, and your Law. Now if you would know from what spirit this wicked and unnatural Law of yours hath proceeded: Well, we shall speak plainly, it hath proceeded from the *murdering* spirit which reigned and ruled in the *Persecutors* of Old, from whence

whence all such Lawes did and do proceed.

Now ye Rulers, chief Priests and Inhabitants of *New-England*, this we shall say unto you in the fear of the Lord and Spirit of the Almighty, and in the Power of the Lord Jesus Christ, that you nor your Law is not to be regarded herein, and your Law is to be broken, and must be broken by the Power of the Lord God, and you must be judged and condemned by the same Power for making such a Law; For the Lord of Hosts is coming up against you, and your Power must be subdued and taken from you by the Prince of Peace, even by Him who is come, and coming, to rule the Nations with a Rod of Iron; who is come and coming; whose *Right* it is to *Rule*, and *subdue* all Powers and Authorities unto Himself, and to take the Government into his Own hand, unto whom it belongs; who will dash you to pieces, ye Rulers, that rebel against his *Righteous Power* and his *Holy Law*, that He is Establishing in the Earth, in the hearts of the sons of men, that obey his Voice, and that hearken unto his Counsel, his Righteous and Holy Law must be established, and his Righteous Government and Kingdom must be set up; and your Unrighteous and Unholy Kingdom and Government must be overturned and destroyed by the Power of the Everlasting God, in this day of his Eternal Power; who is come, and coming, to make void all your *ungodly*, *inhumane* and *bloody Laws*, and to reward you according to your works: The Lord God hath spoken it, and by Him it shall be accomplished upon you: for the Decree of the Most High is gone out against you, ye unmerciful men, whose Wickedness and Unrighteousness doth exceed the Nations about you, for *barbarous Cruelty* and *unmanlike Actions*: Have you not altogether lost your Senses, Reason and Understanding, that you are become so brutish and so unlike Christians? You are gone so far in your *Cruelties* and *unnatural Actions*, that you are a *stink*, and a *loathsom smell* to all People, that have the least measure of Uprightness and of the honest Principle ruling in them, and your barbarous and cruel actions and bloody deeds they abhor, and at your Cruelty that you have acted against the People of the Lord (who are by you in scorn called *Quakers*) many of the common sort of People do stand amazed and wonder to hear of such Cruelty to be acted by such a Generation

neration of men, that have made such a noise concerning Religion, concerning a Church, concerning Ministry and Magistracy, and Church-Government and Ordinances, Preaching, Praying, Singing, Morning and Evening Sacrifices, Family-Duties (as you call them.) that such should become so bloody and so cruel, it doth astonish many that are called *Heathens*; that all your Preaching, Praying, Singing, making such a noise concerning Religion, that it should come to no more, and to produce no better fruits than *Imprisoning, Whipping, Stocking, Burning in the Hand, Cutting off Ears, Banishing upon Death*, as you have banished Six already from their Wives and Children, and from their outward beings; So that you do not only intend to destroy the *Souls*, but *Bodies* also. Come, let us know what have they done; what Law of God have they transgressed, that you should banish them upon pain of *Death* from their Families? What, was it because their *Conversations* and *Affairs* were honest and upright, and yours are evil? What, was it because their *Practices* condemned yours? What, was it because they *owned* a People that are by you in scorn called *Quakers*, whom you evilly entreat? and such as owns them you banish and despitely use them.

Surely these things will be remembred. Come, let us ask you what Rule or Example have you that you walk by? let us hear what you can say for your selves: What Orthodox men were they that counselled you to these barbarous actions? what Counsellors were they, that would give counsel to Magistrates to do these bloody actions? of whom did you learn it? Come, let us hear your strong Reasons, for the day is drawing near that you must be further tried; for the Almighty God hath put it into the hearts of his Servants to try you, whether you will put us to death for disobeying your unrighteous Law. We that are free-born *English-men*, we demand our Liberty for the exercise of our pure Consciences in this Country, as well as other *English-men*; we being free-born *English-men*, we may by the Law of God claim our Liberty before many other People: We who are not transgressors of the Law of God, neither of any Law or Decree that is according thereunto, what is the Reason that we should be banished upon Death out of your Jurisdiction more than any other people? What, is it because we
are:

are turners of the World *up-side down*? What, is it because we are termed *Ring-leaders* of a People, that are in scorn called *Quakers*? What, is it because the Laws of our God, which we obey, are different from all the unrighteous and bloody Laws of *New-England*? What, is it because we cannot obey the Commandment of the Rulers of *New-England*, that have commanded us to bow to the spirit that ruled in *Haman*, which now rules in these bloody Rulers of *Boston*, and elsewhere in *New-England*? Nay, I say, the Lord our God hath raised and is raising the Royal Seed and Spirit that ruled in *Mordecai*, that could not, nor cannot stoop nor bow to the spirit that ruled in proud *Haman*: I say, see and behold if the same spirit rules not in you, ye Rulers, chief Priests and Inhabitants of *Boston*, and elsewhere; mark, if the same spirit doth not rule you that ruled in *Haman*; who sought not only the destruction of *Mordecai* alone, but sought to destroy all the Seed of the *Jews*: Are you not of *Haman's* off-spring, and ruling in his nature, who was so cruel and so bloody? who did give a sum of money for destroying the Seed of the *Jews*: Mark, what was it for? Because *Mordecai* could not bow to him, nor do him reverence. Mark, it was not for the transgression of any Law of God: yet he disobeyed the Commandment of King *Ahasuerus*, who reigned from *Judea* even unto *Ethiopia*, over an hundred and twenty and seven Provinces. Or, is your Law and Commandment of more force than his was, who had commanded that they should reverence *Haman*? for so had the King commanded. Are you greater than he was? Reade the Third of *Esther* throughout. And yet did not *Mordecai* transgress his Commandment, in not bowing to *Haman*? at which *Haman* was full of wrath. Is it not so with you? are not you mad and full of wrath against the People called *Quakers*, because they testify to your faces that your deeds are evil? Are not you now full of wrath and envy, because the *Quakers* will not obey your unlawful Commands and unrighteous Decrees? Now you that are in *Haman's* nature, & ruled by *Haman's* spirit, in Cruelty seeking and labouring to destroy the Royal Seed and *True Jew* from off the Earth in this Country of *New-England*; as *Haman* did labour to destroy the Seed of the *Jews*, the People of *Mordecai*, within the Kingdom of *Ahasuerus*, so do ye seek

seek to destroy the People of God, called *Quakers*, that are come, or comes into your Jurisdiction; Is it not because they cannot bow to you? Now, did *Mordecai* in disobeying the King's Commandment, disobey the higher Power, yea or nay? *unto which every soul is to be subject for Conscience sake: And such as disobey this Power, disobey the Ordinance of God.* Give us in your Answer ye Rulers and chief Priests, you that seek and receive Honour from man; *How can you believe that receive Honour one of another, and seek not that Honour that cometh from God only?* Well, is your Commandment and Decree of more force to us, than the King's was (concerning *Haman*) to *Mordecai*, seeing they are of one nature? We can obey your Commandment no more than *Mordecai* did bow to *Haman*, though the King had commanded it. Now we say, are not you preparing a Gallows to hang us thereon, as *Haman* did for *Mordecai*? But take heed, We warn you in the Name of the Lord God, consider what you are going to do; In the Name of the Lord we demand that we may have Liberty for the Exercise of our pure Consciences within your Jurisdiction, as well as other *English-men*, seeing that you cannot lay to our charge the transgression of any Law of God, we being men that fear the Lord God of Heaven and Earth; and we come not for any thing of yours, God is our Witness, it is not for any thing that you have that we come for; for we do not lack any outward thing: for many of us have both Houses and Land of our own, and Silver also in *Old England*, so that we seek not any thing that you have (God is our Witness, whom we serve in the Spirit of Truth, who hath constrained us to leave all, and to follow Him) that it is not the World (*that doth perish with the handling thereof*) that we seek or labour for; but the Good and Eternal Welfare of the sons of men, for the Seed's sake which is oppressed in *New-England*, and other parts of the World; do we labour, and travel, and suffer all manner of hardships; for Christ's sake are we become fools, and do suffer all manner of Evil to be done unto us, as Christ said unto his Disciples, *they shall do all manner of Evil to you for my Name sake*; but those that did it, and those that do it, know neither God nor his Son Jesus Christ, neither have they the Love of God abiding in them: *For such as love not him whom*

they have seen, how can they love God whom they have not seen? and such have not Eternal Life abiding in them, but are of the Devil, as their fruits do make manifest, and are the thorns of which men cannot gather Grapes, except it be such Grapes as *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* did bring forth, which provoked the Holy One, the Most High, to arise in his Wrath, and consume them in his Anger.

Come, ye Rulers, let us further ask you a Question : Of whom did you receive, or from whence had you your Rule, to Imprison any for coming to visit one another? did you finde any such Example in the Scripture, which you call *Your Rule*? did ever any Magistrate do such a thing, to imprison any of the Prisoners Acquaintance or Friends, for onely coming to visit them? Had not *Paul's* Friends and Acquaintance liberty to come and visit, and to minister unto him? Now you do not only hinder that which the *Heathen* granted, but exceed such in Cruelty which imprisoned *Paul*, who did let his Friends and Acquaintance come to him, and minister to him : Now this you hinder, and will not suffer any of our Friends nor Acquaintance to come to visit us, nor to minister unto us ; much more when your Cruelty is become so great, to imprison such as come many miles to visit us, as you have done *Mary Dyer*, who came from *Rhoad Island* to visit us, and to minister to our Necessities, if we stood in need : Now you do not only hinder any for coming or ministring to us, but shut such up in Prison (to be kept close Prisoners) as remember *Joseph's* Afflictions, whose bowels are opened to such whom you dispitefully use : Is this *your doing as you would be done by*? O shameless men ! Are you without all natural affection? What Rule is it you walk by? You say that she affirmed, *That the Light within her is the Rule* : But I say, *The Light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the World, which condemneth the World for evil deeds and unnatural actions*, this Light which is the *Saints Rule* is the *Worlds Condemnation* ; this Light was not your Rule for what you have done ; ye took not counsel at this Light which is the *Quakers Rule* : for this Light which shines in the heart of man, beholding all his actions, this Light doth condemn all blind Persecutors and Judges, such to be worse than they that imprisoned *Paul*, who would suffer him to speak for himself ;
which

which many times you are so mad you will not suffer the *Quakers* to speak for themselves, but you will call to your Officers, to take them away to Prison.

Again, It is written in the Warrant whereby we were committed to Prison, *that we shall be tryed according to Law*. We desire no more than to be tried according to *Equity, Truth, and true Judgment*, to be tried according to the *Law of God*; but your Law, you unjust men, we deny to be tried by it; for you are both our Accusers and Judges: which is not according to the Law of God: for *Equity and Truth* judgeth and condemneth all *unsound Judgment, Unrighteousness, Partiality and respecting of Persons*: Therefore all you Magistrates and Rulers (so called) stoop to the Witness of God, and bow to the Light of Jesus Christ, own the Light of the Son of God; for until you own and be led by the Light of Jesus Christ, which leads into Union with God, you cannot judge aright of the things of God. So take heed how you do; for the Line of true Judgment is stretched over you all, with which you are measured, weighed and tried in the just Ballance of Truth, and according to true Judgment you are found wanting, and are found, tried and judged by the Spirit of Truth, to be too light: Therefore be awakened all ye Rulers and Inhabitants of *Boston*, and elsewhere within your Jurisdiction, and give over persecuting the Saints of the most high God.

This is a Warning to you all in *New-England* who have had a hand in persecuting the Saints and Children of the Lord, (who are by you in scorn and contempt called *Quakers*) Give over your Cruelty, and cease from oppressing the Innocent; for the Lord God hath regard unto their Sufferings, and the Lord God is risen and arising to plead their Cause against all their Enemies, and all their Adversaries must fall before them; for the Lord is with them, and the shout of a mighty Prince is among the Innocent People, called *Quakers*, and this is the day of their Suffering, and the day of your Cruelties and Persecution upon them within this *New-England*: but the day of their Deliverance draweth near, and the day wherein they shall rejoyce in the Lord, the God of their Salvation, who is mighty to save and able to deliver them out of

the hands, and out of the mouthes of Devourers, and from the Jaws of the Ungodly and Cruel men; who will take Vengeance at that day upon all bloody-minded men and blind Persecutors: And at that day you shall find that the Lord will be too hard for you, though you now boast in your Wickedness. And thus far I am clear, and have cleared my Conscience to you at this time: And whether you will hear, or forbear, I am clear of your Blood; I who am now a Sufferer under you, with my Brother and Companion; whose Lives are not dear unto us to lay them down as a Witness against such a *Bloudy*, and *Unrighteous* and *hypocritical Generation*; and this We are ready to seal with our *Bloud* for the breaking of your *Bloudy Law*.

From us, who are
in scorn called
Quakers, who
are Sufferers under
Zions Oppressors.
The
Sixth Month,
1659.

*In the Common Goal in the
Bloudy Town of Boston.*

William Robinson.

Marmaduke Stephenson.

The

The 28th. of the 8th. Moneth, 1659.

ONce more to the general Court assembled in Boston, speaks Mary Dyar. Even as before, my Life is not accepted, neither availeth me, in comparison of the Lives, and Liberty of the Truth and Servants of the living God; for whom, in the bowels of Love and Meekness I sought you: Yet nevertheless, with wicked hands have you put two of them to Death; which makes me to feel that the mercies of the wicked, are cruelty. I rather choose to dye than live, as from you (who are guilty of their innocent blood) Therefore seeing my request is hindred, I leave you to the Righteous Judge, and Father of all Hearts; Who, with the pure measure of Light He hath given to every man to perfect withal, will in His due time let you see whose Servants you are, and of whom you have taken Counsel; which I desire you to search into: But all his Counsel hath been slighted, and you would none of His Reproof. Read your Portion, Prov. 1. 24, to the 32. For verily, the night cometh on you apace, where in no man can work, in which you shall assuredly fall to your own Master. In obedience to the Lord, whom I serve with my spirit, and pitty to your poor souls, which you neither know nor pitty, I can do no less than once more to warn you to put away the Evil of your Doings, and Kisse the Son (the Light in you) before His Wrath be kindled in you; for where it is, there is nothing without you can help, or deliver you out of His hands at all. And if these things be not so, then say, there hath been no Prophet from the Lord sent amongst you: Though we be nothing, yet it is His pleasure to bring to nought things that are.

When I heard your last Order read, it was a disturbance to me; that was so freely offering up my Life to Him that gave it me, and sent me hither so to do: Which Obedience, being His own Work, He gloriously accompanied with His Presence, Peace and Love in me, in which I rested from labor; till by your Order, and the People, I was so far disturbed, that I could not retain any more of the words thereof, than that I should return to Prison, and there remain forty eight hours: To which I submitted, finding nothing from the Lord to the contrary: that I may know what His Pleasure and Coun-

set is, concerning me, in whom I wait therefore; For, He is my Life, and the length of my days: And as I said before, I came at His Command, and go at His Command.

MARY. DYAR.

This was given them at the first time, after she returned from the place of Execution.

To Friends in New-England, or where this may come, Greeting.

IN your meeting together, and attending at the foot-stool of the Altar, waiting to be fed with the Bread of Life, which through death to all things that the carnal mind hath fed upon, or delighted in, either in corruption or birth, either in thought or action, whether things in Heaven, or things in Earth; for verily all old things must be dissolved before the eternal Spirit, which as a devouring fire and everlasting burning, is now entered into the Regions of the Earth, and hath manifested it self unto you, that thereby you might profit, and be had and instructed in the way of holiness, and as an earnest of the glorious Inheritance, that never fades away, hath from time to time ministered comfort, joy, and peace in the holy Place within the Vail, as you have patiently waited, through pangs of death, to the old nature, and in meekness and content, when darkest was over the Land, have endured the shaking of the Earth, and terrible rending of the Vail. I say, as you, in any measure, have come through these things, even so in measure have every one of you tasted of the Bread of Life, and hidden Manna which within the Ark is laid up for all the followers of the Lamb, through great Tribulations, which plentifully you will meet withal in the worldly Regions, both within and without. And although, my dear Friends, the fruits of Sodom and Egypt, as they do outwardly appear in many, as pride, wantonness, revilings, and the like, are done away; yet you will find many dangerous and hurtful lusts, arising out of the nature of spiritual Sodom within, which will strongly assault you when

when the light of the Sun is but a little withdrawn, and passing under a cloud ; through which if ye wait patiently for the next appearance, it will shine more glorious and higher than before. Yet divers ways will the enemy of your soul appear at such a time, to draw you aside from the hope of the Gospel, and expectation of enjoying the righteousness and heavenly treasure, which therein was revealed, when the glorious Light in full power shined in the earthen Vessel, and will strive to make void all that you have received, as the earnest of the purchased Possession ; by presenting before you the hardness of the way, and bringing to mind, things you were formerly in bondage to ; yea, and to tell you, ye may eat and not die. These things and more unutterable, will the spirit, (whose progresse is to and fro in the earth) present to your view, and feed the carnal withal : yet behold them all in the Light Eternal, and in their most glorious appearance, they are all but dust, which is his own meat, whom you are to resist steadfastly in the power of the Spirit of Faith, which overcomes the World ; and remember how the Lord did deliver you wonderfully in your former journeys, wherein you perfectly saw the naked Arms of Gods salvation ; and He remains the same in Himself, yesterday, and to day, and for ever ; although the enemy, while the cloud was over the Ark, (for that is his time to work) goeth about, in the airy part, seeking whom he may devour, did strongly tempt to prevail, as if you were in the wilderness of sin, to lead you back again, in your hearts, into spiritual Egypt ; for it is within he thus subtilly works ; and I well knowing it, cannot forbear to exhort you in the clean fear of the Lord God, that you with the eye of your mind, retired out of all things visible, here to wait still and quiet, and ceasing from all self-working, may with meeknesse receive Power, Might, Dominion, and perfect Strength, against all that ever the enemy did appear in ; and in this condition of the free saving Grace of God, which is appeared for your Deliverance and Teacher, you may learn to grow from grace to grace, into the knowledge of the wonderful works of God, which your forefathers saw, and many things happened them for our Ensamples, and are written for our learning Spiritually, and the same way you are to travel, as they did who were baptized into Moses, and so proceeding, you will find the same spiritual meat, from the least to the greatest of you ; and he that gathereth most, will have none over ; and behold I testify (as the least among many Brethren) that

he that gathereth little hath no lack, but in his father's house feeds
 on this Bread of Life; thenourishment and vertue of it will make the
 least, as strong as David, and give power over all spiritual enemies,
 though every one in the Camp were as great as Goliath. And thus
 to this day hath the Lord preserved me in the Power of the endless
 Life, where, like a Beacon on a Hill, the Watchers fired and filled
 with Zeal to give others warning of the nigh approaching of the
 Enemy, who lies lurking in the nature of Transgression, ready upon
 all opportunities to appear in evil thoughts, lusts, &c. and so to de-
 file the Temple, if not resisted in the first motion. And as the Crea-
 ture gives way to the Temptation of the Destroyer, he will grow cold,
 and his Zeal towards God, and love to his People will wither, and
 sometimes be hardly drawn to their Assemblies; And all this while
 he may walk under covert of an outward profession of Truth, yet
 grow not at all; for having joyned with that in the motion, although
 not brought forth into the act that hides from the presence of the
 Lord, and keeps from sweet Nourishment of the Vine, which cau-
 seth all that abides in it to bring forth fruit; as the heat of the Sun
 causeth the tender herb to spring. And whoever comes into this
 condition, the single Eye discerns him, and the Faithful goes about
 mourning, and saying, How have such defiled the Bed of Virgi-
 nity, who once in a great measure had escaped the Corruptions that
 are in the World through lust; and although I am perswaded better
 things of you, yet my Beloved Friends, who are dear unto me, as you
 abide in that which crucifies you to the World, wherein I dearly ex-
 hort you to abide, as it ariseth in you, and put it on as a garment of
 of Righteousness, wherein from faith to faith you may passe on, and
 so preach Righteousnesse to the old World, and in it you will be pre-
 served, as in an Ark, from the Destruction, like a flood, that will
 assuredly come upon the World of Ungodly: And in all your tryals
 and troubles, look and wait for the Power that once delivered you,
 and again and again it will deliver you from the power of the Degg,
 and work mightily in you; that with willing mind you deny all for
 its sake, until the Image of the Beloved be formed in you, and you
 in Him, where in Love ye will be accepted, and the knowlege of
 his Mystery, manifested in flesh, in every measure of it, is and will
 be so far above all the Glory, Treasure, and Pleasure of the Land of
 Darkness, that it will wholly take the Meditations out of them, as
 if they were not worth the minding no more than drosse or dust; yea,

or whatsoever else may attend or can come upon those that follow the Light, as Persecution, Distress, Affliction, Famine, Nakedness, Perils in the Wilderness, in the Sea, in the City, yea, or Death itself; I am perswaded that Gods Armour of Light, as it is loved in and loved, will preserve them. And I further testify in the Fear of the Lord God, and witness with a Pen of Trembling, That the noise of the Whip on my Back, all the Imprisonments and Banishing upon pain of Death, and after returning, the loud threatening sound of an Halter from their mouths, who, Jezebel-like, sat on the Imperious Throne of Iniquity, did no more affright me, through the strength of the Power of God in me, than if they had threatened to have bound a Spiders Web to my Finger; which makes me say with unfeigned lips, Wait upon the Lord, O my soul for ever, who hath made known unto me his loving-kindness, when I even thirsted for Him, and kept my feet upon the Rock, whilst the raging Waves of the Sea went over my back; whilst for the Truth and Cause of Gods People I have been freely offered up, and am not at all straightned to be baptized for the dead; whether into Death, or otherwise; following his Example, who laid down his Life for his Enemies: And herein the Record in Heaven knows I lye not, and the Witness in Earth is bearing Witness to me, that I yet do not (as I have not hitherto) seek to withdraw my Cheek from the Smiter, nor to turn aside my feet from the footsteps of the Flock; as witness this Chain and Log at my Leg: but do desire, so far as the Lord draws me, to follow my forefathers and Brethren in Suffering and in Joy: Wherefore my spirit waits and worships at the feet of Emmanuel, unto whom I commit my Cause, who may work my bodies deliverance; if not, yet the Freedom, Peace, Joy and Patience, which in the midst of trouble I have enjoyed, and I believe shall continue from Him, shall fully satisfy me; for which let my soul, and all that is within me, praise him for ever and ever. And I shall continue my Exhortation to you, earnestly desiring ye may wait to feel the Love and Life of God flow in your particular Vessels, and therein watch over and serve one another; and let the Strong and Faithful among you dwell in the Power, that he may have a Garment ready to cover the Nakedness of the Weak; and if the Tares at anytime appear, let Wisdom and the Spirit of Meekness be alwayes used to separate the

Tares from the Wheat, both in the ground and off-spring, that the harrower may clearly see it, and then if he will not put in his sharp-threshing Instrument to cut them down, his blood will be required at his hands, and with compassion pour Oyl into the wounds of the wounded, and bring them into the house where Salvation is; for the hope of Glory in you is come to save that which was lost; so the Plant of God will grow, the Thorns and Thistles will be cut down, and the Ground cleansed that the Course may be no more; and if the Weeds should appear again, let them still be trodden down and broken off the Root, and in time you shall see them dye at the Root, and then the Plant of Renown, the Stem of the Root of Jesse within its seed and beginning, may truly be resembled to the little Mustard-seed, which will grow and prosper, and be watered with the dew of Heaven, which, like soft drops of Balm, will gently fall on the branches thereof; as Patience working unto Perfection, waits to enter at the door of Life, without climbing one step to satisfy the Lion of greedy desire, but let it suffer hunger, yea and death also, through which you will find entrance into the green and pleasant Pastures of the Folds, where you shall feed as the Herd in the low Valleys of Achor, the entrance thereof will be a Door of Hope in the day of your greatest need and spiritual hunger, when Experience and Hope is added to your Patience: And at the Threshold thereof I leave all that hunger and thirst after Righteousness to enjoy the Desire of their Souls.

Boston-Prison in
New-England,

1660.

William Leddra.

This was given forth about three months before he suffered,
and was copied by W. Coddington of Rhoad Island.

AN EPISTLE of WILLIAM LEDDRA,
to Friends, written by him the day before
he was put to Death.

*To the Society of the Little Flock of Christ, Grace
and Peace be Multiplied.*

Most Dear and inwardly Beloved,

THe sweet Influences of the *Morning-Star*, like a Flood diffilling into my *Innocent Habitation*, hath so filled me with the Joy of the Lord in the Beauty of Holiness, that my Spirit is as if it did not Inhabit a Tabernacle of Clay, but is wholly swallowed up in the bosome of Eternity, from whence it had its being.

Alas, alas! What can the *Wrath* and Spirit of man that lusteth to Envy, aggravated by the heat and strength of the King of the *Locus* which came out of the *Pit*, do unto one that is hid in the *Secret Places* of the Almighty? or, unto them that are gathered under the healing wings of the *Prince of Peace*? under whose *Armor of Light*, they shall be able to stand in the day of trial, having on the breast-plate of Righteousness, and the sword of the Spirit, which is their weapon of war against Spiritual wickedness, Principalities and Powers, and the Rulers of the darkness of this World, both within and without! Oh my Beloved! I have waited as a Dove at the Windows of the Ark, and have stood still in that watch, which the Master (without whom I could do nothing) did at his coming reward with fulness of his Love, wherein my heart did rejoyce, that I might in the Love and Life of God, speak a few words to you, sealed with the Spirit of Promise, that the taste thereof might be a savor of Life to your Life, and a Testimony in you of my Innocent Death: And if I had been altogether silent, and the Lord had not opened my mouth unto you, yet he would have opened your hearts, and there have sealed my Innocency with the streams of Life, by which we are all Baptized into that body which is in God, with whom and in whose presence there is Life; in which as you abide, you stand upon the pillar

and ground of Truth: For, the Life being the Truth and the Way, go not one step without it, lest you should compass a Mountain in the Wilderness; for unto every thing there is a season. As the Flowing of the Ocean doth fill every creek and branch thereof, and then retires again towards its own being and fulness, and leaves a savor behind it; so doth the Life and Virtue of God flow into every one of your hearts, whom He hath made partakers of his Divine Nature, and when it withdraws but a little, it leaves a sweet savor behind it, that many can say, they are made clean through the Word that He hath spoken to them: In which Innocent Condition you may see what you are in the presence of God, and what you are without Him. Therefore my Dear hearts, let the enjoyment of the Life alone, be your Hope, your Joy and Consolation, and let the Man of God flee those things that would lead the Mind out of the Crosse, for then the Savor of the Life will be buried: And although some may speak of things that they received in the Life, as experiences, yet the Life being veiled, and the savor that it left behind, washed away by the fresh floods of Temptation, the Condition that they did enjoy in the Life, boasted of by the Aiery Thing, will be like the Manna that was gathered Yesterday, without any good scent or savor: For it was onely well with the Man while he was in the Life of Innocency, but being driven from the Presence of the Lord into the Earth, what can he boast of? And although you know these things, and (many of you) much more than I can say; yet for the Love and Zeal I bear to the Truth and Honour of God, and tender desire of my Soul to those that are young, that they may read me in that from which I write, to strengthen them against the wiles of the subtil Serpent that beguiled Eve; I say, stand in the Watch within, in the Fear of the Lord, which is the very Entrance of Wisdom, and the State where you are ready to receive the Secrets of the Lord: Hunger and Thirst patiently, be not weary, neither doubt; stand still and cease from thy own working, and in due time thou shalt enter into the Rest, and thy Eyes shall behold thy Salvation, whose Testimonies are sure and righteous altogether: Let them be as a Seal upon thine Arm, and as Jewels about thy Neck, that others may see what the Lord hath done for your Souls: Confesse Him before Men, yea before His greatest Enemies, Fear not what they can do unto you: Greater is He
 that

that is in you, than he that is in the World : For he will combat you with Humility, and in the power of His Meekness you shall reign over all the rage of your Enemies in the favour of God ; wherein as you stand in Faith, ye are the Salt of the Earth ; For many seeing your good works, may glorify God in the day of their Visitation. Take heed of receiving that which you saw not in your Life, lest you give ear to the Enemy ; Bring all things to the Life that they may be proved, whether they be wrought in God : The Love of the World, the Lust of the Flesh, and the Lust of the Eye, are without the Light, in the World ; therefore possess your Vessels in all Sanctification and Honour, and let your Eye look at the Mark ; He that hath called you is holy : And if there be an Eye that offends, pluck it out, and cast it from you : Let not a Temptation take hold, for if you do, it will keep from the Favour of God, and that will be a sad state : For without Grace possessed, there is no assurance of Salvation ; By Grace you are saved, and the Witnessing of it is sufficient for you ; to which I commend you all my Dear Friends, and in it remain,

You Brother,

Boston Coal, the 13 of the
first Moneth, 1660.

William Leddra.

61.

The 9th. of the first. Moneth 1660. 61.

William Leddra being called before the Court; and they having found him guilty, that by their Law he was to die. He asked them, *What Evil he had done ?*

They Answered, His own Confession was as good as a thousand Witnesses.

He Asked, *What was that ?*

Ans. He owned those that were put to Death, and that they were Innocent, for which they died ; and that he would not put off his Hat in the Court ; and that he would say, *Thee* and *Thou* to the Magistrates.

Then said he, *You will put me to Death for speaking English, and for not pulling off my Cloathes.*

Then

Then *Daniel Denison* said, A man may speak Treason in English.

Then *William* said, *Let us come to the Thing in hand; Is it evil to say Thee and Thou to a single Person? To it they Answered not.*

Then one of the Court asked him, If he would Recant of those Errors?

He Answered, *What, to joyn with such Murderers as you are? Then let every man that meets me say, This is the man that hath forsaken the God of his Salvation.*

They said unto him, the last general Court he had the liberty granted him to go for *England*, or go out of their Jurisdiction; and promising to come here no more, he might save his Life.

He Answered, *I stand not in my own Will, but in the Will of the Lord, if I may have my freedom I shall go, but to make such a Promise I cannot.*

After they proceeded to Pronounce the Sentence of Death, and the 14th. of the first Month, 60. 61. they went to the Place with a Band of Men, and put him to Death. When he came upon the Ladder, one said, *William, Have you any thing to say to the People?* and after some time he said, *For the Testimony of Jesus, and for bearing witness against Seducers and Seduced, I am come to this day. And the last words he spake to best remembrance were, Lord Jesus receive my soul, for unto thee I commit my spirit.*

This was sent me by *Nicholas Hyslop*,

and Copied by me,

Williams Coddington,

of *Rhode Island*.

The

The COPY of a LETTER from a Stranger to
his Friend, touching the Death of *W. Leddra*.

Boston, March 26. 1661. 11 o'clock

ON the 14th of this instant here was one *William Leddra*, which was put to Death. The People of the Town told me, he might go away if he would: but when I made further Enquiry, I heard the Marshal say, That he was chained in Prison from the time he was Condemned to the day of his Execution. I am not of his Opinion: but yet truly me thought the Lord did mightily appear in the man. I went to one of the Magistrates of Cambridge, who had been of the Jury that condemned him (as he told me himself) and I asked him by what Rule he did it? He answered me, That he was a Rogue, a very Rogue. But what is this to the Question (I said) where is your Rule? He said he had abused Authority. Then I goes after the man, and asked him, Whether he did not look on it as a breach of a Rule, to slight and undervalue Authority? and I said that *Paul* gave *Festus* the title of Honour, though he was a Heathen (I do not say these Magistrates are Heathens.) I said then when the man was on the Ladder (who looked on me, and called me Friend, and said, Know, that this day I am willing to offer up my Life for the Witness of JESUS) Then I desired leave of the Officers to speak: and said, Gentlemen, I am a stranger both to your Persons and Country, and yet a friend to both: and I cryed aloud, For the Lord's sake, take not away the man's Life: but remember

† *William Leddra*

Gama-

*Captain's Counsel to the Jews: If this be of man, it will
 come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow
 it. Be careful ye be not found fighting against God.*
 And the Captain said, *Why had you not come to the
 Prison?* The Reason was, because I heard the man
 might go if he would; and therefore I called him
 down from the Tree, and said, *Come down William,
 you may go away if you will.* Then Capt. Oliver said,
it was no such matter; and asked, *What I had to do
 with it?* and besides, had me to be gone: And I told
 them *I was willing;* for *I cannot endure to see this,* I
 said. And when I was in the Town, some did seem
 to sympathize with me in my Grief. But I told them,
*that they had no Warrant from the Word of God; nor
 President from our Country; nor Power from his Majesty
 to hang the Man.* I rest.

Your Friend,
Thomas Wilkie.

To Mr. George Lad,
 Master of the Ame-
 rica of Dartmouth,
 now at Barbados.

THE END.

